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HANDBOOK

OF THE

ADMINISTRATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1801—1900

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GREAT BRITAIN

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1801—1900

BY

FRANCIS CULLING CARR-GOMM

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SPRECKELS

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION

The object which the compiler of this summary has had in view is to provide for all, whether they are politicians, students or newspaper readers, a handy book of reference in which they may see at a glance what Ministry was in power at any period during this century. Also, what were the chief measures carried through by each Ministry, and the causes of the various changes in the Cabinets. He is fully aware that the whole of the information contained in this summary can be found in other books; but having continually experienced a difficulty himself in knowing where to find in large histories and works of reference a short notice relating to any recent political change, the idea occurred to him of arranging the political history of England during this century under the different Ministries. It is this *arrangement* only which is original in the book—the matter is, of course, a mere compilation from various sources.

The arrangement here adopted is too simple and self-evident to require more than a cursory notice. A Table of the Administrations from the Accession of George III. is given in the beginning, and then each little chapter contains

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the abstract history of each Administration from 1801—its formation, Cabinet, the measures which it passed, and the cause of its break up, detailed as briefly as possible, while allusion is made to any important outside event which may more or less have influenced the course of affairs in this country.

November 1869.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION

THE work has now been carried on upon the same lines as before to the close of the nineteenth century. The only difficulty is not to say too much on each subject, my purpose not being to describe any event, or to explain the causes which led to any particular policy, but merely to refresh the memory, and to enable the reader to fix in its proper niche, and with its correct surroundings, the special point which may arise in discussion or may force itself upon the attention at the moment.

F. C. CARR-GOMM.

THE CHASE, FARNHAM ROYAL:
January 1901.

LIST OF THE

ADMINISTRATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE CLOSE OF THE XIXTH CENTURY

List *of the* Administrations *of* Great Britain

Year of Appointment	Prime Minister	Leader of the other House	Duration	
			Years	Days
—	*Duke of Newcastle* .	Mr. Pitt (Earl of Chatham)	8	52
1762	*Earl of Bute* . .	Mr. Fox . . .	—	322
1763	Mr. George Grenville .	Lord Egremont . . Duke of Bedford, August 1763	2	87
1765	*Marquis of Rockingham*, first time.	General Conway .	1	21
1766	*Duke of Grafton* . .	Mr. C. Townshend . Lord North, 1767	3	179
1770	Lord North . . .	Earl Gower . . Earl Bathurst, 1779	12	34
1782	*Marquis of Rockingham*, second time.	Mr. Fox . . .	—	132
1782	*Earl of Shelburne* .	Mr. Pitt . . .	—	266
1783	*Duke of Portland* . .	Lord North . .	—	260
1783	Mr. Pitt (the younger), first time.	Earl Gower . . Lord Grenville	17	80
1801	Mr. Addington . .	Lord Pelham . .	3	56
1804	Mr. Pitt, second time .	Lord Hawkesbury .	1	246
1806	*Lord Grenville* . .	Mr. Fox . . . Lord Howick (Sept.)	1	64

N.B.—The names of the Premiers who sat in the House of Lords are in Italics.

from the ACCESSION *of* GEORGE III.

Party in Politics	Cause of Change of Cabinet	Reign
—	Resignation, in consequence of Mr. Pitt's retirement upon his proposal to attack Spain being rejected by the Council. Mr. Pitt was the real head of the Government.	
—	Resignation of Premier, in consequence of his great unpopularity, both in and out of Parliament.	
Whig . .	Dismissed by the King, who was insulted by the exclusion of his mother's name from the Regency Bill.	
Moderate Whig	Resigned, as they were obliged to do, since the King had desired Mr. Pitt (Chatham) to form a new Cabinet.	
Whig . .	Resignation, in consequence of Lord Chatham's desertion, the Premier being only a nominee of Lord Chatham's. He was also, it is said, driven to resign by the sarcasms of 'Junius.'	GEORGE III.
Tory . .	Resignation, in consequence of decreasing majority in House and want of public confidence.	1760–1820.
Whig .	Death of the Premier.	January 29.
Whig . .	Defeat of Ministry on the terms of peace with America.	
Coalition .	Dismissed by King on defeat of the India Bill.	
Tory . .	Resignation of Mr. Pitt, as the King refused to entertain the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation.	
Tory . .	Inability to carry on the war, the nation being clamorous for the return of Mr. Pitt to power.	
Tory . .	Death of the Premier.	
Whig Coalition, called 'All the Talents'	Dismissed by King, as they refused to pledge themselves not to propose any concession to Roman Catholics.	

Year of Appointment	Prime Minister	Leader of the other House	Duration	
			Years	Days
1807	*Duke of Portland* .	Mr. Perceval . .	2	270
1809	Mr. Spencer Perceval .	Earl of Liverpool .	2	130
1812	*Earl of Liverpool* .	Viscount Castlereagh Mr. George Canning, 1822	14	307
1827	Mr. George Canning .	Lord Goderich . .	—	121
1827	*Lord Goderich* . .	Mr. Huskisson . .	—	168
1828	*Duke of Wellington* .	Mr. Peel . . .	2	301
1830	*Earl Grey* . . .	Lord Althorp . .	3	231
1834	*Lord Melbourne*, first time.	Lord Althorp . .	—	128
1834	Sir Robert Peel, first time.	Duke of Wellington .	—	131
1835	*Lord Melbourne*, second time.	Lord John Russell .	6	138
1841	Sir Robert Peel, second time.	Duke of Wellington .	4	293
1846	Lord John Russell, first time.	Marquis of Lansdowne	5	239
1852	*Earl of Derby*, first time	Mr. Disraeli . .	—	300
1853	*Earl of Aberdeen* .	Lord John Russell .	2	45
1855	Viscount Palmerston, first time.	Earl Granville . .	3	17

N.B.—The names of the Premiers who sat in the House of Lords are in Italics.

Party in Politics	Cause of Change of Cabinet	Reign
Tory Coalition	Death of the Premier.	George III. (*cont.*).
Tory . .	Assassination of the Premier.	Regency,
Tory . .	Illness and resignation of the Premier, and disunion of his Cabinet on subject of Roman Catholic Emancipation.	1811–1820.
Coalition .	Death of the Premier.	George IV.
Coalition .	Resignation of Premier, from inability to manage his Cabinet.	Jan. 29, 1820—
Tory . .	Resignation, as they were opposed to all Reform, when the House and country were set upon it.	June 26, 1830.
Whig. The 'Reform Ministry'	Split in the Cabinet upon the Irish question.	William IV.
Whig . .	Dismissed by the King peremptorily.	June 26, 1830—
Tory . .	Repeated defeats on Irish Church question.	June 20, 1837.
Whig . .	Passing of votes of want of confidence.	
Tory . .	Defeated on the Life Preservation Bill for Ireland; the Protectionists, estranged by the Premier's conversion to Free Trade, voting against the Government.	
Whig . .	Defeated on the Militia Bill, by Lord Palmerston, who had just been removed from the Foreign Office.	Victoria.
Tory . .	Defeated on the Budget.	June 20, 1837.
Liberal Coalition	Resignation of Premier, on motion for inquiry into the state of our army in the Crimea being carried.	
Liberal .	Defeated on the Foreign Conspiracy to Murder Bill, which the Premier introduced at request of the French Emperor.	

Year of Appointment	Prime Minister	Leader of the other House	Duration	
			Years	Days
1858	*Earl of Derby*, second time.	Mr. Disraeli . .	1	111
1859	Viscount Palmerston, second time.	Earl Granville . .	6	128
1865	*Earl Russell*, second time.	Mr. Gladstone . .	—	249
1866	*Earl of Derby*, third time.	Mr. Disraeli . .	1	238
1868	Mr. Disraeli, first time .	Earl Malmesbury .	—	281
1868	Mr. Gladstone, first time.	Earl Granville . .	5	69
1875	Mr. Disraeli (created *Earl of Beaconsfield* August 1876), second time.	Duke of Richmond, till August 1876 Sir Stafford Northcote, from Aug. 1876	6	67
1880	Mr. Gladstone, second time.	Earl Granville . .	5	57
1885	*Marquis of Salisbury*, first time.	Sir M. Hicks-Beach .	—	227
1886	Mr. Gladstone, third time.	Earl Granville . .	—	178
1886	*Marquis of Salisbury*, second time.	Mr. W. H. Smith . Mr. Balfour	6	15
1892	Mr. Gladstone, fourth time.	Lord Kimberley. .	1	193
1894	*Earl of Rosebery* . .	Sir W. V. Harcourt .	1	121
1895	*Marquis of Salisbury*, third time.	Mr. Balfour . .	6	

N.B.—The names of the Premiers who sat in the House of Lords are in Italics.

Party in Politics	Cause of Change of Cabinet	Reign
Conservative	Defeated on the Reform Bill.	
Liberal .	Death of the Premier.	
Liberal .	Defeated on the Reform Bill.	
Conservative	Resignation of the Premier, on account of ill-health.	
Conservative	Defeated at the General Election.	
Liberal .	Defeated at the General Election.	
Conservative	Defeated at the General Election.	
		Victoria (*cont.*).
Liberal .	Defeated on an amendment to the Budget.	
Conservative	Defeated in debate on the Address.	
Liberal .	Defeated at the General Election on the Irish Home Rule Question.	
Conservative	Defeated on amendment to the Address after General Election.	
Liberal Liberal	Defeated on War Office (cordite) vote.	
Unionist .	Continuing into Twentieth Century.	

MR. PITT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

1783–1801

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Pitt, first time.
2. Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord Loughborough.
3. Lord President of Council .	Earl of Chatham.
4. Lord Privy Seal . . .	Lord Westmorland.
5. Home Secretary . . .	Lord Grenville, Leader in the House of Lords.
6. Foreign Secretary . . .	Duke of Portland.
7. Colonial Secretary . . .	Mr. Dundas.
8. First Lord of the Admiralty .	Earl Spencer.
9. President of Board of Control	Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool).
10. Secretary at War .	Mr. Windham.

MR. PITT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

From—December 27, 1783, *to* March 17, 1801.
Duration—17 years and 80 days.
Reign—George III.
Party—Tory; but embracing the Moderate Whigs.
Principal Events—Financial Reform, India Bill, Revolution in France, Revolutionary War with France, Trial of Warren Hastings, War with Tippoo Sahib, Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
Parliaments Dissolved—March 25, 1784, to strengthen the position of Ministers.
June 19, 1790.
May 20, 1796.
December 31, 1800. The new Parliament which assembled after this election was the first Imperial Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.
Speaker of the House of Commons:—
Mr. C. W. Cornwall, died January 2, 1789.
Mr. W. W. Grenville, resigned May 1789 (afterwards Lord Grenville).
Mr. H. Addington (afterwards Lord Sidmouth).

1801.—On January 1, 1801, the union of the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland was effected, the frame of our Government was renovated and enlarged, and the King assumed a new style and new titles. Apart, therefore, from its being the first day of a new century, it forms a fit era on which to commence an historical summary of our modern Administrations. At that period the great French war, which had been carried on since 1793, was still raging, and Napoleon was First Consul of France. His great object in the war was to strike at the root of England's naval power and greatness by cutting off as much as possible the sources of her commerce. Her Transatlantic colonies, in the reduced state of his army, were beyond his reach; but

India, the great fountain of England's wealth, it seemed not impossible to reach by means of political intrigues, as well as of arms, through the establishment of a French colony in Egypt; and he also hoped, by thus rendering France the mistress of the Mediterranean, to divide with Great Britain the empire of the ocean.

The legislative union had been effected by Mr. Pitt, whose Ministry had been in power since 1783. When first made Prime Minister by George III. Mr. Pitt was only twenty-five years of age. The majority in the House of Commons had been adverse, but after a few months this adverse majority had dwindled down; and after the dissolution in 1784, the general election which returned a House of Commons, two-thirds of whom were pledged to support his Ministry, determined for more than forty years the government of England, since the party then established continued, with the short exception of the Whig Government of 1806, to govern the country on Tory principles till 1830. In the first Session of the new Parliament Mr. Pitt carried his India Bill, establishing the Ministerial Board of Control and the double government which, with modifications, existed till the year 1858. Besides this, the chief public transactions in Mr. Pitt's first ten years of office were his Financial System, the Commercial Treaty with France in 1786, the invasion of Holland in 1787, and the Regency Question in 1788. With a vigorous hand he had pruned the luxuriance of prodigality, and introduced sound economical principles: a reduction of the tea and other duties had checked smuggling and had increased consumption; and a prudent economy had enabled him to set apart a million a year as a sinking fund for a reduction of the National Debt, according to his Bill carried in 1786. But in 1793 the untoward rush of events on the Continent entailed the commencement of the long war against France, and checked Mr. Pitt's career; and the beneficent spirit of social amelioration slumbered till the accession of Mr. Canning, Mr. Pitt's favourite disciple, to supreme power in 1827.

The Imperial Parliament met for the first time on January 22. Mr. Addington was re-elected Speaker, and on February 2 the King formally opened the Session, referring in his speech chiefly to our relations with the Continental Powers. Amendments were proposed on the Address in both Houses, but were rejected by large majorities; but from the tone of the debates it was manifest that all were alive to the critical and alarming situation in which the country was placed. The south and west of Europe, subdued by the arms of France, were detached from all co-operation with England in the war, or were dragged into the stream of hostility against her. The Northern Powers, envious of our commercial and naval greatness, and instigated by the intrigues of Buonaparte, revived claims inconsistent with both, and were prepared to enforce them by arms. At the time when the British nation, threatened by foreign invasion, hard pressed by scarcity, and anticipating famine, looked for a supply of foreign grain, the Baltic and Danish ports were shut against her.

The internal state of the country also presented difficulties of no ordinary kind. Mr. Pitt, in bringing about the legislative union of England and Ireland, had pledged himself to the Irish Roman Catholics that the removal of the Catholic disabilities should immediately follow the union, and it was indeed to be considered part of the plan. The King, however, was resolutely opposed to grant this relief to the Roman Catholics: to do so would be, in his opinion, to violate his coronation oath; and consequently when Mr. Pitt stated to the King his wish to introduce such relief as a Cabinet measure, he was met by a positive refusal; and owing to the King's malady increasing, which was probably brought on by his over-anxiety and vexation, it was impossible further to discuss the question with him. No other course, therefore, remained for Mr. Pitt but to resign his post. This resignation of an office which he had held for seventeen years, and which he had administered with

such disinterested zeal for the honour of his country, was effected without any oral communication with the King, probably because the Minister knew that it was hopeless to try to alter the King's determination; even if the discussion upon a subject which he regarded with such morbid dislike, and the prospect of parting with a servant on whom he had so long relied, did not materially affect his reason.

On February 10 **notice of the resignation of the Ministry** was given in both Houses. Some have considered that the Catholic question was only the ostensible cause of Mr. Pitt's resignation, and that the real reason was because the Minister perceived that England would be obliged to make peace, and that on terms inconsistent with those opinions which he had always advanced.

On February 11 Sir John Mitford was elected **Speaker** in the room of Mr. Addington, who resigned.

MR. ADDINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION

1801–1804

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Addington, afterwards Lord Sidmouth, formerly Speaker in the House of Commons.
2. Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord Eldon.
3. Lord President of Council .	Duke of Portland.
4. Lord Privy Seal . . .	Earl of Westmorland.
5. Home Secretary . . .	Lord Pelham, Leader in the House of Lords, resigned June 1803. Mr. C. Yorke.
6. Foreign Secretary . . .	Lord Hawkesbury. In 1803 he was called to the House of Lords during the lifetime of his father the Earl of Liverpool.
7. Colonial Secretary . . .	Lord Hobart.
8. First Lord of the Admiralty .	Earl St. Vincent.
9. Master-General of Ordnance .	Earl of Chatham.
10. President of Board of Control	Viscount Lewisham. Lord Castlereagh, from July 1802.
11. Secretary at War . . .	Mr. Charles Yorke. Mr. C. Bragge, from June 1803.

MR. ADDINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION

From—March 1801 *to* May 1804.
Duration—3 years and 56 days.
Reign—George III.
Party—Tory.
Principal Events—The Peace of Amiens in 1802, and renewal of the war with France in 1803.
Parliament Dissolved—June 29, 1802.
Speaker of the House of Commons :—
Sir J. Mitford, resigned February 1802.
Mr. C. Abbott.

1801.—It was on February 5, a few days before it was formally announced in the House, that Mr. Pitt's resignation was accepted by the King and the new Ministry provisionally formed ; but, as has been just remarked, the change had such an effect on the King's mind that it brought on an attack of insanity, from which he did not recover till March 10. At that time Mr. Pitt let it be known, although he did not actually say so himself, that he would be willing to remain in office on the King's own terms ; but by that time Mr. Addington, feeling secure of possessing the King's favour, would make no overture, and would not concede his position ; so Mr. Pitt was obliged to withdraw ; but he declared himself ready to give at all times to the new Ministry, who were then formally installed in their offices, the benefit of his support.

Mr. Addington's Cabinet was a small one, consisting at first of but nine persons ; of these only four were members of the House of Commons, and of these four all but the Premier himself were the eldest sons of earls.

At the time of Mr. Addington's accession to power the

House was divided into three parties, the first of which was far less numerous than the other two. They were—

1st. *The Peace Party*—headed by Mr. Charles Fox, who were more afraid of the growing influence of the Crown than of French influence.

2nd. *The War Party*—headed by the late Ministry, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Dundas, who were less desirous of peace than fearful lest an intercourse might be re-established with France which would engender and spread democratic principles in England; and who considered that war was preferable to a peace which was not concluded on terms perfectly and in all particulars consistent with the honour of England.

3rd. Those who were desirous for a peace on any fair and reasonable terms, and were not jealous of French influence. This party was without a head, and in talent and power of eloquence could not compare with either of the others; but it comprised a large number of respectable and moderate supporters, and it was upon them that the present Ministry relied.

On March 12 Lord Castlereagh moved for the continuance of the Act for the Suppression of the Rebellion in Ireland, and the motion was, after some opposition, carried without a division; and owing to there being some disaffection apparent in England, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended during the continuance of the war.

On July 12 Mr. Dundas gave a detailed account of the affairs of India, particularly as they were connected with finance, and of his own conduct during the seventeen years he had presided over the Board of Control; and he showed that the financial aspect of India was becoming a satisfactory one. Sir William Pulteney's motion for establishing Free Trade between England and India was carried without a division, but was not productive of any result.

Parliament was prorogued July 2.

During the autumn the great war went on, and became more exciting than before, owing to the collection of a large

force of all arms at Boulogne, with which Buonaparte intended to invade England; while on our side Lord Nelson was put in command of a flotilla of gunboats, with which to carry war home to the doors of France. The hostile encampments were actually in sight of one another across the Straits of Dover.

On August 15 a rash attack was made upon the French ships in Boulogne harbour, which the enemy succeeded in repelling. But in spite of this slight advantage, it was manifest that many causes were acting to bring about overtures of peace from France. So great was the naval strength of England, that at the rendezvous whence the invading army was to issue forth against England every French boat had to be kept chained inside the harbour, under the protection of their troops and their batteries! At last, on October 2, **preliminaries of Peace between France and England** were signed in London by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Otto, by which England was to keep Ceylon and Trinidad, Egypt was to be restored to the Porte, and the rest was to be given up to France. Peace was everywhere proclaimed throughout Europe, and numerous treaties were signed during the autumn, by which the restless ambition even of Napoleon himself was well-nigh satisfied.

Parliament was opened October 29, and the King opened the Session in a speech in which he announced the convention entered into with the Northern Powers, and the treaty now negotiating with France, from which a permanent peace was to be hoped for. The Address was carried unanimously. Subsequent debates proved that the eyes of statesmen were being opened to the ulterior objects of Buonaparte with regard to Europe; and that many were beginning to see, as soon as the first feelings of relief at the termination of the long war began to fade, that the terms which England had made had not been very advantageous or honourable. Mr. Pitt and his party gave their warm and decided support to the Ministry; and Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan approved of the Peace, but in doing so charged in

the bitterest language those who had carried on the war with culpable misconduct. The new Opposition, however, though few, were conspicuous by their abilities, and were represented in the Lords by the Marquis of Buckingham, Earls Spencer and Fitzwilliam, and Lord Grenville, and in the Commons by Messrs. Windham, Grenville, Elliot, Lord Temple, and Dr. Lawrence.

The thanks of both Houses were voted to the army and navy for their services in Egypt, and after other unimportant business the Houses adjourned.

1802.—Suspicions were gradually awakened at the beginning of the year, in consequence of the delay in the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, that Lord Cornwallis and the country he represented at the Congress at Amiens were being trifled with.

The treaty was signed on March 27.

Parliament assembled on January 19.

In consequence of the Speaker, Sir John Mitford, being appointed Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, Mr. Charles Abbott was unanimously elected **Speaker**.

On March 31 a debate took place on the claims of the Prince of Wales on account of the arrears alleged to be due to him from the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall. The House, by 160 to 103, decided not to enter into those claims.

An important debate upon the Definitive Treaty took place on May 13. It was brought on by a motion by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, but only 16 Lords voted for the motion, and 122 against it.

In the Commons the question was also debated on the same day. Mr. Windham, in a most eloquent speech of three hours' duration, entered most fully into the treaty, and brought forward a number of objections, which he supported with great ability. The motion was seconded by Lord Folkestone, who declared the British flag was disgraced by this treaty. The ablest defence of the treaty was by Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Castlereagh. Mr. Sheridan's speech

on the occasion was a masterpiece of eloquence and replete with bitter sallies of wit directed against the late Ministry. On the division there were only 20 supporters of the motion, and 276 against it.

The remainder of the Session was uneventful. On June 28 Parliament was prorogued, and very shortly afterwards **dissolved.**

The new Parliament met on November 16, and Mr. C. Abbott was re-elected **Speaker.** On November 23 the King formally opened the business of the Session, and in his speech chiefly referred to the satisfactory state of the country, the abundance of the harvest, and the prosperity of commerce.

On December 21 the House adjourned.

1803.—The year opened under more gloomy aspects than the last year promised. A growing mistrust in the ability and firmness of the Ministry, and demonstrations, which could not be mistaken, of the hostile views and designs of Buonaparte, and the almost inevitable rupture of the Treaty of Amiens, and a renewal of the war, were the most prominent features of public opinion.

Parliament met on February 3. Colonel Despard and six of his accomplices were executed on February 21 for having formed a treasonable design to overturn the Government, assassinate the King, and take possession of the Houses of Parliament and the Public Offices.

The affairs of the Prince of Wales were discussed, and, on Mr. Addington's proposition, an annual grant of 60,000*l.* a year was agreed to.

On March 8 a message from the King was brought down to both Houses of Parliament, saying, that in consequence of the preparations in the ports of Holland and France it was expedient to adopt additional measures of security. This message was the forerunner of the war. All minor matters were put aside, and the great question, 'Shall we have peace or war?' was paramount. The Address was

unanimously voted in both Houses, additional seamen were voted, and the militia called out.

During this time Mr. Pitt absented himself from Parliament, and Mr. Canning, his confidential friend, in giving his support to the Ministry, qualified it with so many expressions of distrust that it was publicly believed that the good understanding between him and the Government was not continued. It was also understood that at that time ineffectual attempts were made by Mr. Addington to induce Mr. Pitt to join the Ministry; this he consented to do only if he were placed at the head of the Administration, to which Mr. Addington and his party would not agree.

The manner of the First Consul was at this time most annoying, and it was evident that he was bent on renewing the war; the ostensible cause of the disagreement was the continued occupation of Malta by the English. On March 13 Buonaparte publicly insulted and abused Lord Whitworth, our ambassador, at a levée at the Tuileries, on May 12 Lord Whitworth left Paris, and on **May 16 War was declared between England and France.**

On May 13 a debate on the financial condition of the country took place on Lord King's motion. Lord Grenville made a very able and effective speech, exposing in the severest manner the fallacy of Mr. Addington's financial estimates, his failure to meet any of the difficulties of the occasion, and his culpable concealment from Parliament of the real state of the country. The House of Lords, feeling that at this time it was necessary to support the Ministry, negatived Lord King's motion.

On May 23 the causes of the war, and the whole conduct of the Ministry in the negotiation, were discussed in the House of Lords. There was an overwhelming majority (142 to 10) in favour of the Ministry.

The debate in the House of Commons was memorable as that in which Mr. Pitt again appeared in his place, and delivered a magnificent speech in favour of going to war; Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning took the same side;

Mr. Fox and Mr. Wilberforce opposed it. On a division 398 supported the Address approving of the war, and only 67 voted against it.

On June 2 further debates took place relative to the conduct of the Ministers, who obtained large majorities in both Houses. Mr. Pitt endeavoured to make the House evade the direct question of approval or censure by moving an adjournment, but there was a majority of 277 against his motion. On this occasion Mr. Canning, for the first time in his life, voted against Mr. Pitt.

With regard to the policy of going to war at this time, Buonaparte himself said that it was not his intention to have renewed the war in 1803, but that he intended, during a six or eight years' peace, to have so increased his navy and fortifications that he would be able to crush England. To have avoided war, therefore, on this occasion would merely have been to postpone it until France was better prepared.

The remainder of the Session was principally taken up with considering the state of the country with regard to its defence.

On July 28, in consequence of a rebellious spirit of insurrection having manifested itself in Ireland, the Habeas Corpus Bill was suspended. The rioters had brutally murdered in the streets of Dublin the venerable Lord Chief Justice, Lord Kilwarden.

Parliament was prorogued on August 12.

Some Ministerial changes were made at this time, which, however, did not materially strengthen the Ministry. Lord Hawkesbury was called to the Upper House; Mr. Yorke succeeded Lord Pelham as one of the Secretaries of State; Mr. Tierney was made Treasurer of the Navy, and Mr. Bragge Secretary at War.

During the remainder of the year the power of Buonaparte spread itself completely over Europe; and although Great Britain achieved brilliant victories in India, and frustrated the plans of France in the West Indies, in Europe

she was unable to do more than arm herself to repel any force which France might send to invade her. The prospect before the country seemed a very gloomy one, and the nation was dissatisfied with the want of talent displayed by Mr. Addington's Ministry, and was longing for the return of Mr. Pitt to power at the head of a strong and vigorous Administration.

Parliament was opened November 22. In his opening speech the King spoke in confident terms as to the state of preparation that the country was now in to repel all invasion; and before the adjournment for the Christmas recess the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Bill in Ireland was continued and the army estimates passed.

1804.—Early in the year the state of the King's mind gave again cause for great anxiety, and from February to May he continued incapable of transacting public business. This in a time of war, and when the Ministry in power had not the confidence of the nation, was productive of general uneasiness.

This was further increased by the discovery of the very inefficient state of the navy under the management of Lord St. Vincent. Mr. Pitt, on March 15, brought forward a motion for inquiry into this subject, but the motion was, after a powerful debate, negatived by 201 to 130. But in spite of this majority it was clear that the Ministry were losing public confidence, and being now opposed by Mr. Pitt, as well as by what were called the old and new Oppositions, viz. the Fox and Grenville parties, it was easy to see that they were rapidly sinking; the minds of the great majority of men throughout the nation became convinced that, at such a crisis, it was absolutely necessary for the public safety that the helm of the State should be placed under firmer guidance, and all eyes naturally turned to Mr. Pitt.

After the Easter recess the attack was renewed by Mr. Fox bringing forward his motion, on April 23, with

respect to the inadequate state of the defences of the country. He was supported by Mr. Pitt, and the only answer which the Ministry had to make was to ridicule the coalition of such inveterate foes: in fact, the Ministerial defence was conspicuous by its want of ability; the chief speakers on their side being Mr. Addington, and the Attorney General, Mr. Spencer Perceval, and the Treasurer of the Navy, Mr. Tierney, who had always been Mr. Pitt's rancorous personal opponent. The Ministerial majority was only 52 (256 to 204): and two days afterwards, on April 25, the majority dwindled to 37, after a debate on the subject of the Army of Reserve. Feeling their authority thus waning, the Ministry wisely resolved upon resigning; for, in consideration of the state of the King's health, they did not like to recommend a dissolution of Parliament, and they were also glad to avail themselves of a fitting excuse to retire before the overwhelming rhetorical power of a combined Opposition of all the prominent men, viz. Messrs. Pitt, Fox, Windham, Sheridan, Canning, &c.

It was now openly stated by Ministers that they only held their offices during the continuance of a delicate state of public affairs. The Opposition, seeing their object gained, suspended all further attacks till the King's health was restored. On May 12, the day after he had again appeared in public, it was formally announced that the **Ministers had Resigned** and that their successors had been appointed.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY

MR. PITT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

1804–1806

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Pitt.
2. Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord Eldon.
3. President of Council . .	Duke of Portland, resigned from failing health. Lord Sidmouth, Jan. to June 1805. Lord Camden, June 1805.
4. Lord Privy Seal . . .	Earl of Westmorland.
5. Master-General of Ordnance .	Earl of Chatham.
President of Board of Control	Lord Castlereagh.
7. First Lord of the Admiralty .	Lord Melville, resigned in April 1805, on his naval administration being impugned. Sir Charles Middleton (created Lord Barham).
8. Secretary for Foreign Affairs	Lord Harrowby, on Dec. 20, 1804, resigned in consequence of an accident. Lord Mulgrave.
9. Secretary for War and Colonies	Earl Camden. Lord Castlereagh, from June 1805, retaining also provisionally the Presidency of the Board of Control.
10. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Mulgrave. Lord Buckinghamshire, Jan. to June 1805. Lord Harrowby, June 1805
11. President of Board of Trade .	Duke of Montrose.
12. Secretary, Home Department	Lord Hawkesbury (Liverpool), Leader in the House of Lords.

MR. PITT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

From—May 1804 *to* January 6, 1806.
Duration—1 year and 246 days.
Reign—George III.
Party—Tory, although many of the Tories refused to join Mr. Pitt.
Principal Event—War with France.
Parliament Dissolved—None.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. C. Abbott.

1804.—It was at first thought that a coalition was to be formed as the basis of the new Administration; but it was soon discovered that this was impracticable, partly on account of differences of opinion among the leaders of the different parties, partly on account of the aversion of the King to Mr. Fox. On May 2 Mr. Pitt had sent through Lord Eldon a letter to the King containing his view of a coalition Ministry; but the King being much troubled at Mr. Addington's resignation, and being at first reluctant to readmit Mr. Pitt to power, had given a discouraging answer. On May 7 Mr. Pitt had a personal interview [he had not seen the King since 1801], and with difficulty obtained leave to treat with Lord Grenville and his friends, as well as with the friends of Mr. Fox, the King positively refusing to admit Mr. Fox himself to office. On acquainting them with this decision Mr. Pitt received a letter from Lord Grenville, who had been his able and faithful supporter during the former war, refusing to accept office in an Administration which excluded Mr. Fox; but Mr. Fox himself acquiesced in the arrangement, and said that he hoped his exclusion would not prevent others from accepting office. Mr. Pitt had, therefore, no alternative but to form his Cabinet without

the followers of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, and this he did by patching up the former Ministry without Mr. Addington. His Cabinet consisted of twelve members, half of whom had been members of Mr. Addington's Ministry; and only two of whom, viz. Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh, sat in the House of Commons.

The first business of any importance transacted by the new Ministry was the passing of the Volunteer Consolidation Bill, and the Additional Force Bill, which, however, only passed by small majorities and after much opposition. The vigour and decision of Mr. Pitt's policy speedily appeared in the confederacy which he formed of the Continental States to stem the progress of French ambition; nor were the ability and energy of Lord Melville less conspicuous in the rapid restoration of the navy, which, under the late disastrous spirit of parsimonious reform, had degenerated into an unexampled state of decrepitude and decay.

On July 31 Parliament was prorogued, the King in his speech referring with confidence to our state of preparation for war.

At this time Mr. Pitt's manner is described as being 'absorbed, melancholy, and ailing.' He evidently much felt his desertion by his former friends, and during the recess he had leisure to consider what steps he could take for strengthening his position.

In India the war with Holkar and Scindia was continued, and splendid victories were obtained by Generals Lake and Wellesley at Assaye, Delhi, Laswarree, &c., and the war terminated gloriously for the British arms.

On December 2 Napoleon was crowned by the Pope at Notre Dame.

1805.—Mr. Pitt having in vain attempted again to persuade Lord Grenville to join his Ministry, opened a negotiation with Mr. Addington, which was successful. He was raised to the peerage as Lord Sidmouth, and both he and his friend the Earl of Buckinghamshire were admitted to

the Cabinet. The reconciliation, however, was hollow, and proved neither effectual nor durable.

The Session opened January 15. In his speech the King referred with satisfaction to our military and naval condition, stated that **Spain had declared war**, and that Napoleon had sent proposals of peace with which it had been impossible to comply. The Address in reply was carried without opposition.

On a motion by Sir Evan Nepean leave was given to bring in a Bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland in consequence of the prevailing disaffection. In the House of Lords the rupture with Spain was forcibly criticised in an able speech by Lord Grenville: he was replied to by Lord Hawkesbury. On the same day (February 11) there was a long and animated debate on the same subject in the House of Commons. Mr. Grey led the opposition, and moved an elaborate amendment on the address moved by Mr. Pitt. The division took place at six o'clock in the morning, and there was a majority of 207 for the Ministry (313 to 106).

On April 6 Mr. Whitbread moved the consideration of the 10th Naval Report, in which he brought forward his charges against Lord Melville for maladministration and peculation of the public moneys. On a division the numbers were equal (216 to 216), and the Speaker gave his casting vote in favour of the motion.

Lord Melville accordingly placed his resignation in Mr. Pitt's hands; but Mr. Whitbread demanded his removal from all the offices which he held, and from the Royal Councils for ever. This motion was, however, withdrawn, and the former resolutions were laid before the King by the House. On May 6 Mr. Pitt rose in the House of Commons, and stated with much feeling that he had felt it his duty to advise the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the Privy Council; and thus the Minister was obliged to continue his Administration almost unsupported, having been deprived by party rancour of his only effective coadjutor.

On May 10 Lord Grenville introduced the subject of the **Roman Catholic Disabilities**. After two nights' debate

his motion was negatived by 178 to 49. In the House of Commons a similar motion was negatived by a majority of 212 (336 to 124), Mr. Pitt voting against the motion, not on account of its principle, but of its inopportuneness.

On June 11 Lord Melville was heard in his own defence at the bar of the House of Commons, and Mr. Whitbread moved for his impeachment. After a debate which lasted all through the night the House divided at six o'clock—195 for the impeachment, 272 against it, majority 77; after which another division took place on Mr. Bond's amendment. For it, 238, against it, 229; majority for a criminal prosecution, 9.

On June 25 the House annulled these votes and voted for the impeachment of Lord Melville, and on the following day Mr. Whitbread impeached him before the House of Lords, and on July 4 the articles of impeachment were exhibited.

On July 12 Parliament was prorogued.

Lord Wellesley was recalled from India and Lord Cornwallis was again sent out as Governor-General. He arrived in July and died in October.

Peace was concluded with Holkar.

Previous to the prorogation Lord Sidmouth, having taken an active part against Lord Melville, and (some say) being believed by the Minister to possess too great an influence with the King, resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Camden. The Earl of Buckinghamshire, who also resigned, was succeeded by Lord Harrowby. Thus was the Minister not only deprived of the assistance of the able Lord Melville, but of the support also of Lord Sidmouth's followers. He stood, indeed, quite alone in the Administration, none of his colleagues being men of any great ability. Great though Mr. Pitt's genius was, it was unequal to the task of carrying on unaided such vast and complicated duties as now devolved upon him. Austria was led too precipitately to open the campaign against Napoleon before that system of co-operation agreed to by the Allies could be acted upon; and while the English troops destined to act in concert with those of Sweden and Russia in the North of Europe had hardly

landed, and the southern division of the English troops was inactive in the Kingdom of Naples, the Austrian army under General Mack was forced to capitulate at **Ulm** to the French on October 20, and December 2 witnessed the total defeat of the Austrian and Russian Emperors by Napoleon at **Austerlitz.** These disasters even our glorious naval victory at **Trafalgar** on October 21 was unable to overshadow, following, though it did, a succession of naval achievements. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the Minister's health, already much impaired, became daily worse, and that he was compelled, however reluctantly, to quit all public business and repair to Bath, the use of the waters of which place, it was hoped rather than expected, might give a favourable turn to his disorders. This was his condition when the news of Austerlitz arrived to add the overwhelming weight of its signal calamity to his already overburdened mind.

1806.—On January 10 **Mr. Pitt** was moved from Bath, but he rapidly sank, and **expired on the morning of the 23rd,** in the forty-seventh year of his age, worn out by over-work. Parliament had met on the 21st, but the opposition to the Address was silenced by the news of the Minister's death. A vote for a public funeral in Westminster Abbey was passed, but 89 out of 347 voted against it; Mr. Windham laboured to show that Mr. Pitt was not a great statesman because he had not been a successful one; and Mr. Fox argued that he could not declare him to be an excellent statesman who, in his opinion, was the sole, certainly the chief, supporter of a system which he, Mr. Fox, had always considered a bad one.

On February 3 a grant of 40,000*l.* to pay Mr. Pitt's debts was carried without opposition.

Mr. Pitt's death was considered as **a virtual dissolution of the Ministry,** as without him his Cabinet contained no one of pre-eminent abilities, and no one qualified to act as its head; and it was further manifested that they were without the essential quality of united opinion.

LORD GRENVILLE'S ADMINISTRATION

1806–1807

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Grenville.
2. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Lord Henry Petty (afterwards Lord Lansdowne).
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Erskine.
4. Lord President of Council	Earl Fitzwilliam, resigned. Viscount Sidmouth.
5. Lord Privy Seal	Viscount Sidmouth. Lord Holland, 1806.
6. Foreign Secretary	Mr. C. J. Fox (Leader in the House of Commons), died September 1806. Earl Spencer.
7. Home Secretary	Earl Spencer. Lord Howick, Leader of the House of Commons after Mr. Fox's death.
8. Colonial Secretary	Mr. William Windham.
9. First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir Charles Grey (afterwards Lord Howick). Mr. Thomas Grenville, 1806 (brother of the Premier).
10. President of Board of Control	Lord Minto.
11. President of Board of Trade	Lord Auckland.
12. Lord Chief Justice	Lord Ellenborough.
13. Master-General of Ordnance	Earl of Moira.

LORD GRENVILLE'S ADMINISTRATION,

ALSO CALLED

'THE FOX ADMINISTRATION,'

OR

'THE MINISTRY OF ALL THE TALENTS'

From—January 1806 *to* March 1807.
Duration—1 year and 64 days.
Reign—George III.
Party—Coalition, but with the exception of Lords Sidmouth and Ellenborough all were Whigs.
Principal Events—Negotiation with France, Abolition of the Slave Trade.
Parliament Dissolved—October 24, 1806.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. C. Abbott.

1806.—At the time of Mr. Pitt's death there was a general disposition among the leaders of all parties of the Legislature, on account of the critical state of our relations with the Continent, to sink all minor differences in a general union, and to form a coalition Government resting on a wide and comprehensive basis. This idea, promulgated and enforced by Lord Grenville, had been adopted by Mr. Pitt, and would have been carried out by him in 1804 if his attempt to admit Fox to the Cabinet had not been frustrated by the King's absolute refusal. Hence it was that Mr. Pitt had been unable to form a strong Administration, and had he lived the King would doubtless have been forced by Parliamentary pressure to allow him to strengthen his position by a coalition.

The King, after Mr. Pitt's death, tried to continue the Ministry by offering the Premiership to Lord Hawkesbury; but that prudent nobleman declined the prize, though he made use of his short-lived power to accept the lucrative sinecure of the Cinque Ports—an appointment which gave rise to keen and acrimonious discussions. Lord Grenville was therefore authorised to form a Ministry, including Mr. Fox. The coalition which was then formed—embracing all the chief talent of the nation—though at the outset it gave an appearance of stability, was little calculated in the end to ensure permanence.

The Cabinet comprised the leaders of the three distinct parties into which the Legislature, with the exception of Mr. Pitt's partisans, was divided.

1st. *The ardent Whigs*, represented by Mr. Fox and Lord Erskine, who were anxious for Parliamentary Reform, Roman Catholic Emancipation, Repeal of the Test Acts, Abolition of Slavery, and Peace with France. This was the predominating party.

2nd. *The old Whigs*, represented by Lords Grenville and Spencer, and Mr. Windham (who had acted with Mr. Pitt till 1800). They were hostile to France and revolutionary principles, but in domestic policy inclined to the popular side.

3rd. *The Tories*, represented by Lord Sidmouth. They were important for their business knowledge and their following. It was for the sake of these that their alliance was sought, and the coalition of these ancient antagonists was not very creditable to either party. Lord Ellenborough, the Lord Chief Justice, who had refused the Great Seal, had a seat in the Cabinet as a friend of Lord Sidmouth. As soon as the Ministry was formally announced the presence of the Lord Chief Justice in the Cabinet was severely commented upon, and the precedent, which is certainly open to grave objection, has never been followed.

The only terms which the incoming Ministry made with the King were that the army should cease to be subject to

the direct control of the Crown; but, in deference to his prejudices, nothing was to be proposed for the present about Roman Catholic Emancipation: nor would the Tory party have acquiesced in such a measure had it been brought forward; and the prosecution of Lord Wellesley, the late Governor-General of India, was not to be a Ministerial matter.

The Cabinet exhibited, in truth, a splendid array of ability, and its measures were anxiously looked forward to by the nation. No change of policy, however, took place in our foreign relations, and Mr. Fox, who now appreciated that peace with Napoleon was at present unattainable, put himself to carry on the war with vigour. In order to meet the increasing expenditure the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget had to raise the income tax from 6½ to 10 per cent.

The military arrangements submitted by the Ministry to the consideration of Parliament were important and beneficial, and were, after considerable opposition, carried. The debates upon them are memorable for the admirable candour with which Mr. Fox confessed that he had been weaned from the opinions he formerly held with respect to the force which might suffice in time of peace.

The Ministry acted well up to their professions with reference to **the slave trade**, and passed two measures to prevent the increase of the British slave trade in all its branches; and, further, Mr. Fox closed his parliamentary career by moving a resolution, which was carried by a large majority (114 to 15), pledging the House to proceed in the most expeditious manner possible to entirely abolish the said trade. A similar resolution was passed in the Upper House, and addresses were sent to the King beseeching him to obtain the concurrence of foreign Powers.

The remainder of the Session did not contain much important matter. Mr. Paull continued to bring forward his charges of maladministration and fraud against Lord Wellesley, the late Governor-General of India, but the matter

was not proceeded with. After a busy Session of six months' duration Parliament was prorogued July 23.

The proceedings against Lord Melville lasted almost through the Session; the actual trial began on April 29. There were ten articles of impeachment, all referring to the same charge, viz., that he had taken and illegally applied to his own use some of the public money. On June 12 sentence of acquittal was pronounced,—he having been declared '*Not guilty*' on each one of the charges,—the smallest majority being 27 (81 to 54).

The recall of Sir George Barlow, the provisional Governor-General of India, and the nomination of Lord Lauderdale were resented by the Court of Directors. The King, therefore, under his sign manual, recalled Sir G. Barlow, and Lord Lauderdale withdrawing his claims, the subsequent nomination of Lord Minto was acceded to by the Court of Directors.

Mr. Fox, whose state of health had for some months past caused his friends grave anxiety, and had since June compelled him to absent himself from the House, sank under his disease shortly after the prorogation, and **expired on September 13,** dying within a few months of his illustrious rival. His death greatly weakened and shook the Ministry, whose popularity had already been waning; and the changes to supply his place were not calculated to give them additional influence. Lord Howick succeeded him both in his office and in his leadership of the House of Commons.

In the autumn (October 24) the Parliament was DISSOLVED in order to strengthen the Ministry in the House of Commons; but as there was no special reason why an appeal should then be made to the nation, the proceeding was considered by most friends of constitutional liberty as a somewhat arbitrary exercise of the royal prerogative.

The '*delicate*' (?) investigation by the Privy Council of the charges by the Prince of Wales against his Consort was commenced on September 20.

During this year Napoleon made his brother Joseph

King of Naples, and his brother Louis King of Holland: and on October 16 he defeated the Prussians at Jena.

The new Parliament met on December 15, and re-elected Mr. Abbott as **Speaker**: and on December 19 the Royal Speech was read. It referred almost exclusively to the war and the position of affairs on the Continent. Nothing was done before the Christmas recess, after the debates upon the Address were concluded.

1807.—The great event of the beginning of the year was the **Abolition of the Slave Trade**. The trade had, by the measures of the preceding Session, been restrained within very narrow limits, and the Bill which was passed this Session entirely abolished it; the penalty of transportation being affixed to every British subject who should engage in it. The numbers were in the Commons 283 to 16, majority 267; in the Peers, 100 to 36, majority 64. Well-merited eulogy was bestowed by many speakers upon Mr. Wilberforce, who had devoted the labour of his life to carry this measure into effect. This was followed by a proposal by Lord Percy and Mr. Sheridan for a gradual emancipation of the slaves in our Colonies, but it was not pressed for the present against the general sense of the House.

On March 5 Lord Howick moved that 'leave be given to bring in a Bill for enabling persons of every religious persuasion to serve in the army and navy.' By the existing law a Roman Catholic in Great Britain could not rise to a subaltern's rank, in consequence of the necessity of officers of every grade taking the Test Oath. To this Bill the King had at first assented, but when he became more fully aware of the extent of the measure he intimated to the Ministry his invincible objection to it. The Ministry, therefore, acquiesced in his refusal, and the Bill was withdrawn.

The King then required from them a written pledge that they would propose no farther concessions to the Roman Catholics. This they respectfully declined to do, believing that such a pledge would be inconsistent with the funda-

mental principles of the Constitution. The King accordingly intimated to them that **their services were no longer required**, and the same day sent for their successors. Audience of leave was granted only to Lord Sidmouth, and not even to the Prime Minister, Lord Grenville.

On March 26 Lord Grenville in the Lords, and Lord Howick in the Commons, detailed the circumstances which occasioned the dismissal of the Ministry, and Parliament was adjourned till April 8.

Thus ended the nearest approach to a Whig Administration which was in power for half a century—from 1783 to 1830. The King had never given it his cordial support, and he eagerly availed himself of the earliest opportunity given him of bringing about a rupture.

DUKE OF PORTLAND'S ADMINISTRATION

1807–1809

THE CABINET

1.	First Lord of the Treasury	Duke of Portland
2.	Lord President of Council	Earl Camden.
3.	Lord Chancellor	Lord Eldon.
4.	Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Westmorland.
5.	Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Spencer Perceval, Leader in the Commons.
6.	Home Secretary	Lord Hawkesbury (afterwards, in Dec 1808, Lord Liverpool).
7.	Foreign Secretary	Mr. Canning.
8.	Colonial Secretary	Viscount Castlereagh.
9.	President of Board of Trade	Earl Bathurst.
10.	First Lord of the Admiralty	Lord Mulgrave.
11.	Master-General of Ordnance	Earl of Chatham.

DUKE OF PORTLAND'S ADMINISTRATION

From—March 31, 1807, *to* December 1809.
Duration—2 years and 270 days.
Reign—George III.
Party—Tory Coalition.
Principal Events—Commencement of Peninsular War, Impeachment of the Duke of York, the Walcheren Expedition.
Parliament Dissolved—April 27, 1807 (although it had only been elected in the previous autumn), to strengthen the position of the Ministers.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. C. Abbott.

1807.—The Duke of Portland, when he was called upon by his Sovereign to form, with Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Perceval, a new Ministry, was seventy years of age and in a weak state of health; in fact, it was two years after he had resigned the Presidency of the Council in Mr. Pitt's Cabinet on account of the increasing infirmity of his health. Unlike most of the Cabinets of these times, its strength lay in the Lower House, where Mr. Perceval was the Leader, and was supported by Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Dundas. An attempt was made to include Lord Wellesley, but he declined to accept office, though he declared himself a supporter of the new Ministry. Mr. Perceval was offered the post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster *for life* on condition of his becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer; on this being objected to in the House of Commons, the appointment was only given him during His Majesty's pleasure.

On the meeting of Parliament after the adjournment, the dismissal of the late Ministry, and the causes of it, were, of course, the first and most anxious subjects of debate. On April 9 Mr. Brand moved, 'That it was contrary to their first

duties for any servants of the Crown to restrain themselves by any pledge from offering the King any advice which circumstances might render necessary.' A very interesting debate ensued, in which Mr. Perceval positively declared that the King had not been advised by any of his colleagues previous to the dismissal of the late Ministry. The motion was negatived by a majority of 32 (258 to 226). A similar motion was negatived in the Lords by a majority of 81 (171 to 90). Feeling this majority insufficient wherewith to carry on the Government at this arduous crisis, the Ministry resolved on appealing to the country; and on April 27 Parliament was prorogued, and on the 29th IT WAS DISSOLVED, although it had only been elected in the autumn. The elections were hotly contested; the Tories everywhere raised the cry of 'No Popery!' 'The Church is in Danger!' and the Whigs taunted the Tories with their venality and corruption.

The new Parliament assembled on June 22, and Mr. Abbott was re-elected **Speaker** unanimously. Amendments on the Address were proposed by Lords Fortescue and Howick in both Houses, by which the late dissolution of Parliament was characterised as being justified by no public necessity. The amendment was defeated in the Lords by 160 to 67, in the Commons by 350 to 155. These majorities showed that, even if the measure were unjustifiable, it had been most successful in obtaining a strong party for the Ministry in the House of Commons. Parliament sat till August 14, but nothing of importance occurred before the prorogation.

Mr. Canning being placed in the Foreign Office, at once endeavoured to lend help to Russia and Prussia against France; but his succours came too late, for the battle of Friedland had been fought in June, and immediately afterwards the Emperors met at **Tilsit** and concluded **their treaty** through which Napoleon hoped to paralyse the trade of England. Mr. Canning learnt that by a secret article in this treaty the Danish fleet was to be seized for the war by France; he therefore at once peremptorily demanded the

delivery of the fleet, and on refusal he despatched Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart to **bombard Copenhagen.**

Subsequent to the Treaty of Tilsit Napoleon seemed to be extending his 'Continental system,' which was intended to be a check upon English influence and commerce.

In October the treaty between Spain (so called) and France for the partition of Portugal was signed, and the French army entered Spain *en route* for Portugal; our Peninsular War may be said to have immediately commenced from this date.

1808.—Parliament opened January 21. The Speech from the Throne referred entirely to the situation of affairs on the Continent; and the debates on the Address turned on the question of our justification in going to war with Denmark. In this and some subsequent divisions the majority of the House of Commons supported the conduct of Ministers, and voted thanks to those employed in the attack on Copenhagen. There was a majority of 145 (253 to 108) against Mr. Ponsonby's motion for papers, which was virtually for a vote of censure upon Ministers. A similar motion in the House of Lord gave Ministers a majority of 57 (105 to 48). Motions with reference to the legality and justice of the Orders in Council relating to the merchant ships of the enemy, and of those nations that traded with the enemy, were brought forward, with a similar result.

The attention of the House was again called this Session to the charges brought against the Marquis Wellesley's conduct in India. The subject was introduced by Sir John Anstruther and Lord Folkestone; but their motion was negatived by a large majority.

The last important subject discussed during this Session, and the principal topic in the closing Speech from the Throne, was the **condition of Spain**, where a part of the nation were loyally struggling against the tyranny of France, and therefore were no longer to be regarded as the enemies, but as the allies of Great Britain.

Parliament was prorogued on July 4.

The Peninsular War continued, and after the defeat of the French at Vimiera, **the Convention of Cintra** was agreed to, by which the French General Junot was allowed, with all his forces, to evacuate Portugal. The Convention was received with great dissatisfaction in England.

From the beginning of this year Mr. George Ponsonby became Whig leader in the House of Commons, in succession to Lord Howick, who had succeeded his father as Earl Grey ; Lord Howick having been Whig leader since the death of Mr. Fox.

1809.—Parliament met January 13. In the Speech read by the Commissioners in the name of the King it was stated that a negotiation proposed by the Governments of Russia and France had to be rejected, as it had required the abandonment of the cause of Spain, which nation his Majesty would strenuously support as long as they continued true to themselves. Disapprobation of the Convention of Cintra was also expressed, as well as a determination to carry on the Peninsular War with vigour. The Address in reply was carried in both Houses after some opposition.

On January 23 motions in both Houses for thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley and the army for their skill and valour, particularly in the battle of Vimiera, were agreed to.

The news of the **battle of Corunna,** on January 16, and the lamented **death of Sir John Moore**, called forth much feeling in this country, and a well-merited eulogium upon him was spoken by Lord Liverpool.

The **campaign in Spain**, and the conduct of the Ministry with reference to it, were formally brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. Ponsonby on February 24. Sir Arthur Wellesley himself had explained in the House his views and motives of action throughout the expedition. The Ministry obtained a majority of 93 (220 to 127). In his Budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer provided for a special loan of eleven millions to meet the war expenses,

and the war taxes were raised to nineteen millions. The morality of **State lotteries** was one of the subjects discussed in the debate on the Budget; but on a division 90 voted for the lotteries and 36 against them. The attention of Parliament and the country was, for a time, diverted from the consideration of Continental affairs by **the impeachment of His Royal Highness the Duke of York**, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, who was accused by Mr. Wardle, a Welsh colonel of militia, of having bestowed commissions in the army on several unworthy persons at the request of Mrs. Clarke, his mistress. A committee of inquiry by the whole House was appointed, and Mrs. Clarke was examined in person again and again at the bar of the House, where she conducted herself with great pleasantry and levity; but before the termination of the proceedings the Duke resigned his office, and the investigation dropped. Sir David Dundas was appointed Commander-in-Chief in his stead.

Attention being aroused to the prevalence of corruption in the patronage of public offices, was now directed to the appointments by the East India Company, and to corrupt practices in influencing the returns of Members to Parliament. Lord Castlereagh was the accused party in each case; but both the charges were negatived and the subject dropped.

After some debates about minor points of Parliamentary reform, the Session was closed with a Speech from the Throne on June 21.

During all the summer the Peninsular War continued; on May 12 Sir Arthur Wellesley entered Spain, and on July 27 the decisive **battle of Talavera** was fought.

Napoleon, after defeating the Austrians at Wagram, concluded the Treaty of Schönbrunn, by which the military power of Austria was paralysed. A vain attempt had been made by England to support Austria, and to take Napoleon's forces away from Spain, by an expedition to the Scheldt, which was known as the **Walcheren Expedition.** The failure of the enterprise was due to its being entrusted to

two incompetent leaders—the Earl of Chatham and Sir Richard Strahan. Instead of proceeding to capture Antwerp, which was the grand object of the expedition, Lord Chatham invested Flushing, which, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered on August 16. The English troops being decimated by marsh-fever, withdrew to the Island of Walcheren, from which, as the mortality continued on the increase, the troops had to retire at the end of the year.

The untoward issue of this expedition roused into a flame the ill-smothered embers of a conflagration in the Cabinet, and effected a change in the most important offices of the State. Mr. Canning, the Foreign Secretary, had for some time been urging the dismissal of Lord Castlereagh from his office of Secretary of War and Colonies on account of his incapacity. As this was not done, **Mr. Canning himself resigned**, and **Lord Castlereagh** feeling himself insulted, also **resigned**, and challenged Mr. Canning, and on September 22 they fought a duel, in which Mr. Canning was wounded. About this time the **Duke of Portland**, the nominal head of the Administration, **sent in his resignation** on account of his declining health, and these changes necessitated an entire reconstruction of the Cabinet.

The Duke of Portland died almost immediately, on October 30.

On October 25 the King entered on the **fiftieth year of his reign**, which event was celebrated throughout the kingdom.

MR. PERCEVAL'S ADMINISTRATION

1810–1812

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer and Duchy of Lancaster	Mr. Spencer Perceval.
2. Lord Chancellor	Lord Eldon.
3. Lord President of Council	Earl Camden. Viscount Sidmouth, in March 1812.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Westmorland.
5. Home Secretary	Mr. Richard Ryder.
6. Foreign Secretary	Marquis Wellesley, resigned in Feb. 1812, as he could no longer serve under Mr. Perceval. Viscount Castlereagh, February 1812.
7. Colonial Secretary	Lord Liverpool, Leader in the House of Lords.
8. First Lord of the Admiralty	Lord Mulgrave. Mr. Charles Yorke, in May 1810.
9. Master-General of Ordnance	Earl Chatham, resigned after Walcheren Inquiry, February 1810. Lord Mulgrave.
10. President of Board of Trade	Earl Bathurst.

Lord Palmerston was Secretary at War, an office which he retained for eighteen years.

MR. PERCEVAL'S ADMINISTRATION

From—January 1810 *to* May 11, 1812.
Duration—2 years and 130 days.
Reign—George III. Prince of Wales Regent.
Party—Tory.
Principal Events—Regency Bill, Peninsular War, Misunderstanding with United States.
Parliament Dissolved—None.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. C. Abbott.

On the secession of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning from the Cabinet, and the death of the Duke of Portland, the remaining Ministers endeavoured to effect a coalition with Lords Grey and Grenville, and afterwards with the friends of Lord Sidmouth. But on their refusal the Cabinet was reconstructed on Tory principles: the Marquis Wellesley was called from Spain to fill the place of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, which had been held by Mr. Canning; and Mr. Perceval, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, became Prime Minister, Mr. Ryder and Lord Liverpool being the other Secretaries of State. The rest of the Ministers retained their former places, and Lord Palmerston was gazetted Secretary at War.

1810.—Parliament met January 23. The Address was opposed in the House of Lords by Lord St. Vincent, but was carried by 144 to 92.

In the Commons the amendment was proposed by Lord Gower, and at the division was supported by 167 to 263.

Votes of thanks, after some opposition, were passed in both Houses to Lord Wellington and the army in the Peninsula.

On January 26 Lord Porchester called the attention of the House of Commons to the **Walcheren Expedition**, and a Committee was appointed to inquire into its policy and conduct, being voted for by 195 against 186. On the opening of the inquiry some debate arose about a document written by Lord Chatham and presented to the King without the usual intervention of any responsible Minister. The paper in question animadverted upon the conduct of the navy. In consequence of the resolution that he had abused the privilege of access to his Sovereign by submitting a narrative to him without the knowledge of his colleagues being carried by 221 to 188, Lord Chatham resigned his office of Master-General of the Ordnance.

After long debates of many nights on the impolicy and misconduct of the Expedition, the conduct of the Ministers was approved by 272 to 232 on March 30.

During this inquiry an animated discussion took place on the admission of reporters to the gallery. Acrimonious criticisms upon this interference with the rights of the people were expressed in a popular debating society; this was considered as a violation of the privileges of the House, for which Mr. Jones, the president of the society, was (February 21) committed to Newgate. Sir Francis Burdett, whose motion for Mr. Jones's liberation had been negatived by a large majority (153 to 14), thereupon published a letter to his constituents, denying the right of the House of Commons to imprison the people of England. This led to further debate, and Sir Francis Burdett was ordered to be committed to the Tower for a breach of the privileges of the House; which resolution was carried by 190 to 152.

On April 6 he was arrested, and great numbers of the populace assembled and escorted him to the Tower. On their return a riot ensued, in which three persons were killed and several wounded by the soldiery. Sir Francis subsequently brought actions at law against the Speaker and the Serjeant-at-Arms, but they were not successful, and at the prorogation, June 21, he was liberated.

Motions for Parliamentary Reform brought forward by Mr. Brand, and for the removal of the disabilities of Roman Catholics by Mr. Grattan, were both negatived by large majorities.

Sir S. Romilly's motion for the consideration of a Reform in the Criminal Law of the country was agreed to in principle, but withdrawn for the present.

On June 21 Parliament was prorogued.

The power of Napoleon may this year be considered to have reached its height. Holland was incorporated with France, and he was enabled to concentrate his best troops under Massena on the **War in the Peninsula**, which was vigorously carried on throughout the year with varying success.

During the year serious difficulties arose between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States with reference to the rights of neutrals.

Parliament assembled on November 1, and was to have been again prorogued, but in consequence of the death of the Princess Amelia, the King's youngest and favourite daughter, the powers of his understanding were impaired, his malady returned, and he was unable to sign the usual commission. On December 20 the **Prince of Wales** was accordingly, under certain restrictions, appointed **Regent** of the Kingdom, and on the 28th the Lords acceded to this resolution. The resolution that the Prince be laid under certain restrictions was only carried by a majority of 24 (224 to 200), Mr. Lambe and the Opposition contending that the entire Royal power should be conferred upon the Regent without any restrictions.

1811.—General distress prevailed in the manufacturing districts during the latter part of the year 1810 and during the whole of this year. Various causes contributed to produce this distressing result. They were the Continental system of Napoleon, the vast changes in manufactures by the invention of machinery, and, above all, the loss of the

American market. The United States, irritated by the vexations to which they had been exposed in their commercial intercourse with the belligerent Powers, passed, in February, the Non-intercourse Act, by which all commercial connection, both with France and England, was terminated; thus the vast market, worth all the foreign markets put together, which took off British manufactures to the amount of above thirteen millions sterling, was entirely lost.

Parliament endeavoured to give relief by the issue of Exchequer Bills, but the discontent occasioned by the distress continued to increase. A widespread conspiracy was formed for the destruction of machinery, the conspirators taking the name of Luddites, and great excesses were committed in the shires of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and York, which had to be suppressed by the military.

The early part of the Session was occupied with discussions about the **Regency Bill**. The Ministry, looking forward to the King's recovery, maintained the restrictions; whereas the Opposition, knowing that if the Prince acceded to power the present Ministers would not possess his confidence, endeavoured to win his favour by voting for absolute authority. On his accession to power the Prince Regent maintained, contrary to all public expectation, the existing Ministry, but 'upon the sole consideration of filial duty.'

On February 12 the Prince Regent formally opened Parliament.

A debate took place in the House of Lords on the subject of Mr. Wellesley Pole's circular letter to the magistrates on the intended delegation from the Roman Catholics.

Various Bills were passed through Parliament during this Session by Sir Samuel Romilly for mitigating the severity of the Criminal Law. A motion brought forward by Lord A. Hamilton, for securing the Liberty of the Press in India, was negatived by 53 to 18.

The remainder of the Session was uneventful, and Parliament was prorogued on July 24.

The Duke of York was in May reinstated as Commander-in-Chief.

The Peninsular War continued throughout the year, with great success, under Viscount Wellington, and the Island of Java was taken by the British, as well as Bourbon and Mauritius.

1812.—Parliament met January 7. The Address in answer to the Prince Regent's Speech was carried *nem. con.* in the House of Lords; and almost so in the House of Commons, for there was only one vote recorded, besides the two tellers, in favour of Sir Francis Burdett's amendment.

The royal physicians appointed to report upon the state of the King's health agreed in representing him incapable of resuming public business, and added that they considered his recovery improbable; and a Bill making the necessary alterations in the King's and the Regent's households was passed without opposition.

In February the **Marquis Wellesley resigned** his office of Foreign Secretary, the reason assigned being that Mr. Perceval's Cabinet could not be prevailed upon to carry on the Peninsular War on a sufficiently extended scale. Lord Castlereagh succeeded him, and, in the meantime, the Regent endeavoured, through the Duke of York, to induce Lords Grey and Grenville to form part of the Government. The negotiation, however, came to nothing, as it was found that the differences between the leaders of the Whigs and Tories on the Roman Catholic Question were insurmountable.

In consequence of the increase of the Luddite conspiracy and riots a Bill was introduced, February 14, by Mr. Secretary Ryder, for the purpose of adding new legal powers to those already existing for their suppression, and was passed after some opposition.

Mr. Walsh, who had been guilty of gross fraud and breach of trust in the Stock Exchange, was formally expelled the House on a motion by Mr. Bankes.

On March 19 Lord Boringdon moved an Address to the Prince Regent beseeching him to form an efficient Administration, it being virtually for a vote of non-confidence in the present Ministry. The motion was lost by 93 (165 to 72). A similar result befell Sir Thomas Turton's motion in the Commons to take into consideration the state of the nation, which was negatived by 209 to 136.

On February 28 Lord Lansdowne directed attention to the disastrous effects upon our commerce from the Orders in Council prohibiting the trade with France, which had resulted in annihilating our commerce with the United States; but the Ministry were supported in their policy by a majority of 64 (135 to 71). In the Lower House, Mr. Brougham's motion to a like effect was negatived by 216 to 144. The same subject was again debated in May. The removal of the **Roman Catholic disabilities** was moved in the Upper House by Lord Donoughmore, and negatived by 174 to 103; and in the Commons by Mr. Grattan, where, after an animated debate of two nights, it was negatived by 300 to 215.

The question of Parliamentary Reform, brought forward by Mr. Brand, was negatived by 215 to 88.

On May 11 **Mr. Perceval,** when entering the lobby of the House of Commons, **was shot dead** by a villain named Bellingham, who appeared to think that he had sustained some wrong from certain members of the Ministry. Much public feeling was excited by this tragic occurrence, and liberal public grants were made to the Minister's family, he having left a widow and twelve children but moderately provided for. Warm eulogies on Mr. Perceval's high character were spoken in both Houses.

The death of the Prime Minister was considered **the virtual break up of the Administration,** and a fresh communication was conveyed to the Whig leaders through Lord Moira, and also to the Marquis Wellesley.

LORD LIVERPOOL'S ADMINISTRATION

1812–1827

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Liverpool.
2. Lord Chancellor	Lord Eldon.
3. Lord President of Council	Earl of Harrowby.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Westmorland.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Vansittart, created, in 1823, Lord Bexley, and made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Succeeded by Mr. F. J. Robinson.
6. Home Secretary	Viscount Sidmouth, retired in 1822, but retained his seat in the Cabinet without office. Succeeded by Mr. Robert Peel.
7. Foreign Secretary	Viscount Castlereagh, Leader in the Commons in 1821, became Marquis of Londonderry, and in 1822 perished by his own hand. Succeeded by Mr. Geo. Canning, who was also Leader in the Lower House from 1821.
8. Colonial Secretary	Earl Bathurst.
9. First Lord of the Admiralty	Viscount Melville.
10. President of Board of Control	Earl of Buckinghamshire. Mr. Canning, in 1816 (who resigned in 1821 on account of not approving of the Queen's trial, and in 1822 accepted the office of Governor-General of India, but did not go, as on Lord Londonderry's death he went to the Foreign Office). Mr. C. B. Bathurst, in 1821. Mr. C. W. Wynne, in 1822.
11. Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster	Mr. Charles B. Bathurst. Lord Bexley, in 1823.
12. Master of the Mint	Mr. Wellesley Pole, in 1815 (created Lord Maryborough in 1821). Mr. Thomas Wallace, in 1823, without seat in the Cabinet.
13. President of Board of Trade	Mr. F. J. Robinson, in 1818. Mr. Thomas Wallace, in 1823, retired from ill-health. Mr. W. Huskisson, with seat in the Cabinet.
14. Master-General of Ordnance	Earl of Mulgrave. Duke of Wellington, in 1819.

LORD LIVERPOOL'S ADMINISTRATION

From—June 16, 1812, *to* April 11, 1827.
Duration—14 years and 307 days.
Reign—George III. (Regency), and George IV.
Party—Tory.
Principal Events—Peninsular War, American War, Waterloo Campaign.
Parliaments Dissolved—September 29, 1812.
June 10, 1818.
February 28, 1820, on Demise of Crown.
June 14, 1826.
Speaker of the House of Commons—
Mr. C. Abbott, created, in 1817, Lord Colchester.
Mr. C. M. Sutton.

On the failure of the negotiations with Lord Moira the Regent entrusted Lord Liverpool with the formation of an Administration, which was composed chiefly of Mr. Perceval's Ministry. The seals of the Foreign Office were offered to Mr. Canning, and in case of this arrangement being carried into effect Lord Castlereagh would have taken the Home Office. Mr. Canning would gladly have accepted this offer—for the Peninsular War, of which he had been almost the originator and prime mover and prosecutor, was now entering on a more hopeful stage; but he eventually declined it, because Lord Castlereagh would not yield to him the lead in the House of Commons. Out of the twelve members of the new Cabinet, ten were in the Upper House, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Vansittart alone being in the Commons; and eight had been members of the late Ministry: Mr. Vansittart, Earl Bathurst, the Earl of Buckinghamshire and Lord Melville being the four new members.

1812.—The first act of the new Government was, on June 23, to revoke the Orders in Council about searching American vessels; but the concession came too late to restore amicable relations between the two Governments, for before the news of the repeal reached the United States **they were actually at war with Great Britain,** having declared it on June 18. On June 17 the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his Budget. It was passed without much debate. As various violent riots had occurred in several counties in consequence of the numbers of workmen thrown out of employ, a Bill was passed through Parliament giving magistrates greater power for the better preservation of the public peace.

Motions were passed in both Houses declaratory of the intention of Parliament to take into its consideration, in the following Session, the laws affecting the Roman Catholics. This was carried in the Commons by 235 to 106, and in the Lords by 126 to 125; and such was the state in which the close of the Session left the very important question of **Catholic Emancipation.** There is no doubt that a strong Whig Government would now have been able to have carried through an Emancipation Bill; for the only motive powerful with the intolerant in such cases is fear; and at this time the fear of foreign invasion was nearly as powerful as the fear of civil war was in the year 1829, when the Duke of Wellington carried the Bill.

Attention was directed to the frequency of the escapes of French prisoners of war, in consequence of there being no exchange of prisoners permitted. Lord Sidmouth stated that during the last three years 464 French officers had broken their parole and escaped, although not one officer of our army had done so.

Overtures for peace were made by Napoleon, but the terms proposed were such that it was impossible to entertain them. The approaching war between France and Russia was the cause of these overtures being made.

Parliament was prorogued July 30. In his Speech the

Regent referred to the exertions of the army in the Peninsula, particularising the battles of Rodrigo and Badajoz; also to the French campaign in Russia and to the war with America.

On September 29 the country was surprised by a proclamation from the Prince Regent declaring THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT. So early a dissolution had not been expected, as the Parliament had nineteen months to run before its legal expiration, and the Ministry seemed to possess an adequate majority. The remainder of the year was taken up with the general election, which passed off more quietly than usual.

July 22.—Battle of Salamanca. On August 12 the British army entered Madrid.

In June Napoleon commenced his invasion of Russia; on September 14 he entered Moscow, which was burnt by the inhabitants; on October 19 he commenced his disastrous retreat.

From August to November the Americans invaded Canada, and after several sanguinary battles were compelled to retire.

November 24, the new Parliament met. Mr. C. Abbott was re-elected Speaker. On the 30th the Prince Regent formally opened Parliament. In his Speech he referred to the wars with France and America, and recommended for consideration the East India Company's new charter; but no mention was made of the Catholic Question.

Unanimous votes of thanks and a grant of land to Lord Wellington were passed.

A grant of 200,000*l.* was voted for the relief of the sufferers in Russia.

1813.—Parliament met February 2. Sir Francis Burdett's motion for a Regency Bill was defeated—238 to 73. The conduct of the **Princess of Wales**, her relations to her family, and the Prince Regent's disgraceful conduct, formed the subject of some discussion in the House of Commons. The

subject was introduced by Mr. Whitbread, but led to no results. Public feeling was much excited on the subject.

February 25, Mr. Grattan recommenced the question of the **Catholic Disabilities**, by moving for a committee of the whole House to take the subject into consideration. After four nights' debate his motion was carried by 264 to 224, on March 2. On the 9th he introduced his resolution, to the effect that these disabilities should be removed; this was carried by 186 to 119. On April 30 he introduced his Bill, and on May 13 the second reading was carried by 245 to 203. While the Bill was in committee the Speaker, who was strongly opposed to the whole Bill, moved that the words, 'giving the Roman Catholics a right to sit in Parliament,' be excluded. This was carried by 251 to 247, and the Bill, which without that clause would have been futile, was abandoned, Mr. Grattan stating that he would again introduce it next Session.

In the House of Lords, the Marquis Wellesley moved, March 12, for a committee to inquire into the circumstances and result of **the campaign in Spain**; but the motion was rejected by a majority of 76.

On March 14 Lord Darnley moved for a similar committee to inquire into **the American War**, and into the state and conduct of our navy, with reference to the disaster which had recently occurred; this motion also was lost.

A great part of this Session was taken up in debates upon **the New Charter for the East India Company**. The Bill, granting the new Charter for another twenty years, passed; by it the political power and the monopoly of the trade with China were maintained, but the trade with India was thrown open.

To meet the extraordinary naval and military expenses of the year the customs duties were raised and a loan of twenty-two millions contracted.

The Treaty with Sweden was discussed in both Houses, and was agreed to by large majorities. By the terms of this treaty Sweden was to employ 30,000 troops in direct

operation against the common foe, and to receive from England one million sterling and other succours.

Parliament was prorogued July 22.

June 21.—**Battle of Vittoria**. October 19.—Battle of Leipsic, and evacuation of Germany by the French. After taking St. Sebastian by storm, Lord Wellington crossed the Bidassoa on October 7 and **entered France.**

November 4, Parliament met. The attention of the Houses was directed, almost exclusively, to the state of the army; the campaign; the convention with foreign Powers, and the loan. Owing to the amazing successes of the Allies, and the expulsion of the French from the greater part of their usurpations, the greatest unanimity prevailed in Parliament relative to the vigorous prosecution of the war, and the enormous burdens on the nation were acquiesced in as necessary.

On December 20 the House adjourned to March 1.

1814.—The House did not meet till March 1, and at once adjourned till the 21st, in consequence of the pending negotiations with the European Powers.

January 2, the Allied armies crossed the Rhine and entered France; on March 31 the Allies entered Paris; on April 6 **Napoleon abdicated and retired to Elba**, and the Bourbon dynasty was restored.

An interesting debate was raised by Lord Morpeth on the subject of the Speaker having, in his address to the Prince Regent at the close of the last Session, referred to the rejection of the Bill for the Relief of the Roman Catholics, and having assigned his reasons for it according to his own views of the matter; it being, in the opinion of the supporters of Lord Morpeth's resolution, contrary to Parliamentary usage for the Speaker, except by special permission of the House, to refer to any matter or proposal which has not been consented to. The motion was lost by 106 to 274, majority against it 168; the majority no doubt feeling that, considering the Speaker's high position, it would be

inexpedient publicly to censure him; but the superiority in point of argument lay clearly on Lord Morpeth's side.

There were debates relative to the annexation of Norway to Sweden.

Mr. Wilberforce moved, in a powerful speech on May 2, an Address to the Regent, representing that the present convention was a favourable time for the consideration of the abolition of slavery by all civilised nations.

Provision was made for the Duke of Wellington. On July 1 he made a formal visit to the House of Commons, and the Speaker addressed to him a congratulatory address; the ceremony was an impressive one.

The subject of the behaviour and dastardly treatment of the **Princess of Wales** by His Royal Highness was again brought forward by Mr. Whitbread.

Lord Cochrane was expelled from the House (140 to 44) in consequence of his conviction of having spread a false report about the abdication of the French Emperor in order to affect the funds. Being found guilty, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 1,000*l.*, to be imprisoned, to be struck off the list of captains, and to stand in the pillory. The public were enraged at the sentence. The punishment of the pillory was remitted, he was re-seated in Parliament, and the fine paid by public subscription.

The Budget was introduced on June 13. Loans to the extent of forty millions had to be raised to defray the fearful expenses of the war.

July 28.—**The Treaty of Peace** was communicated to both Houses of Parliament. There is no instance in modern history of the termination of a long war by a treaty which was so generally approved as this was. The long protraction and excessive burdens of the war had rendered all impatient to see its close, and its announcement was hailed with universal pleasure. On July 30 Parliament was prorogued.

The Ministry were now secure and triumphant, and at the zenith of their power. The important treaty had been concluded between France on the one side, and Great

Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia on the other. The allied monarchs had visited England, and there was every prospect of shortly reducing the public burdens.

Congress held its sittings at Vienna from October 2.

Parliament was opened on November 8. The principal topic in the Regent's Speech was the American War. The Address was agreed to without a division. Nothing of importance was completed before the recess. The Houses adjourned on December 2.

The **Treaty of Peace with America** was signed at Ghent, December 24.

1815.—Parliament met February 9. The European world was startled on March 1 by **Napoleon's escape from Elba**. He landed at Cannes on the 1st with 1,000 men, and England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia immediately formed an alliance against him. On March 20 he entered Paris, Louis XVIII. having left the previous day. A war policy was sanctioned, after a debate in the Commons: a majority of 200 (273 to 73) voted in its favour on April 28. The campaign in Belgium commenced. Napoleon invaded it on June 15. The battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras were fought on the 16th, and **Waterloo** on the 18th. On June 22 Napoleon again abdicated, and surrendered himself to the English on July 15. **He was then exiled to St. Helena.**

The Army of Occupation remained at Paris during the autumn, and the final treaty between the Allied Powers and France was signed November 20.

The remaining proceedings of this Session of Parliament were uneventful, for public attention was too strongly directed to the war with Napoleon to give much consideration to domestic affairs. The Catholic Question was put aside by a large majority (228 to 147). Public thanks and an additional vote of 200,000*l.* were passed to the Duke of Wellington. To meet the extraordinary charges of the renewed war a sum of thirty-six millions had to be raised by annuities, and the taxes were increased. The general feeling of the necessity

of these measures was so strong that the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech was received with cheers, and the resolution was agreed to without a division.

On July 11 Parliament was prorogued, the Regent in his Speech referring only to the glorious result of the late campaign, and saying nothing of domestic affairs.

1816.—Parliament was opened on February 1. The amendment to the Address was seconded by Lord John Russell. The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, on March 18, for the continuance of **the Property Tax.** There was a warm debate on the subject, as it had caused great excitement out-of-doors, and the House was flooded with petitions against the tax. On a division there were 238 against the tax and 201 for its continuance. This defeat was received with great cheering, for the tax was felt to be very galling, not so much from its mere weight as from its manner of imposition. By this vote a sum of from five to six millions had to be otherwise provided for, which was obtained by advances from the Bank of England.

The Session was uneventful, and Parliament was prorogued July 2.

This year was remarkable as one of great agricultural distress. Prices were high, and the burdens consequent upon the long war were very heavy; and owing to the commercial distress upon the Continent trade was very depressed. The harvest was a very bad one, and there was great stagnation in the manufactures. The result of all this calamity was shown in general discontent, and riots took place in many parts of the United Kingdom.

The Expedition to Algiers under Lord Exmouth in August added fresh laurels to the British navy, and lightened for a moment the general gloom which was fast gathering round our domestic prospects. The result was a new treaty and the abolition of Christian slavery.

Great satisfaction was felt at the **Marriage of the Princess Charlotte** to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg on May 2.

1817.—Parliament was opened January 28. In the Prince Regent's Speech the chief points were the recent expedition to Algiers, and the distress consequent on the late war, which was manifesting itself in riots. One of the most noticeable features in the domestic history of this year was the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, both in February and June. The majorities by which these measures were carried showed the alarm which was spread through the upper classes; there were, however, powerful dissents expressed by some. The termination of these disputes brought the Ministry somewhat into disfavour, as they were believed to have really aggravated instead of alleviated the discontent of the people.

An attempt was again made to abolish the office of the Third Secretary of State. The motion was introduced by Mr. Tierney on April 29, but was defeated by a majority of 103 (190 to 87).

The **Roman Catholic Relief Question** was brought forward again by Mr. Grattan, but his motion for a committee was negatived by 245 to 221. On May 9 a similar motion was also rejected in the House of Lords.

On May 30 **the Speaker,** Mr. Charles Abbott, resigned from ill-health. He was raised to the peerage as Lord Colchester. **Mr. Charles Manners Sutton** was elected his successor, receiving 312 votes against 150 recorded for Mr. Wynn.

Parliament was prorogued July 12.

A universal gloom was spread over the kingdom by the untimely **death of the Princess Charlotte,** on November 5, in childbirth. The child was stillborn. The public feeling was hardly ever marked by a more general and heartfelt mourning.

Mr. George Ponsonby, the leader of the Whig party in the House of Commons, died July 8: he was succeeded by Mr. Tierney.

1818.—Parliament opened January 27. The suspension

of the Habeas Corpus Act was removed, and after debates in both Houses a Bill was passed indemnifying all persons who had acted during its suspension in detaining suspected persons in custody. After an uneventful Session, **Parliament was dissolved** on June 10 by the Prince Regent.

The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle began on September 29. The King of Prussia and the Emperors of Austria and Russia, with their Ministers and the English Plenipotentiary, attended. France was invited to send her Minister, the Duke of Richelieu, and on his attendance a convention was signed, October 9, for **the withdrawal of the British Army of Occupation** from France.

Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough resigned October 21, and died December 13.

Queen Charlotte died at Kew, November 17, aged 75.

At the general election the principal interest excited was at Westminster, where Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir Francis Burdett defeated the Ministerial candidates; the former, however, died on November 2.

Mr. Peel having been elected Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford, resigned his office of Chief Secretary for Ireland; Mr. Charles Grant succeeded him.

The social condition of the country and its general prosperity were much improved this year. This was chiefly due to the continued suspension of cash payments till July 1819.

1819.—The new Parliament was opened on January 21, Mr. C. M. Sutton having previously been unanimously re-elected **Speaker.**

A great part of this Session was occupied in debates on the Currency Question and the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. The subject was introduced by Mr. Tierney, February 2, by a motion for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the effects of the Bank Restriction Act. An amendment by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for a secret committee was carried by a majority of 109 (277 to 168). The secret committee was chosen by ballot, and brought

up their 1st report April 5, and 2nd report May 6. Mr. Peel was the chairman. The suggestions of the committee were that there should be a further extension of the Restriction Act up to February 20. After considerable discussion, the plan of gradual resumption of cash payments was adopted by the House on May 6. Petitions were presented to Parliament by numerous commercial men praying for the continued suspension of cash payments: one petition was rendered the more remarkable by its being presented by Sir R. Peel, who now stood forward to oppose his eldest son, who was the mouthpiece of the committee.

During this year many Englishmen, prompted by love of gain and adventure, sided with the insurgents in the Spanish territories of South America, and helped them to sever their connection with Spain, in spite of an Act of Parliament which was called the Foreign Enlistment Act, and which was introduced by the Government at the instance of the Spanish Government.

On May 3 Mr. Grattan brought forward the **Roman Catholic Question**, but after an animated debate the motion was lost by two votes (243 to 241). A similar motion in the House of Lords was also rejected by a considerable majority.

A motion for a select committee to consider the Criminal Laws with respect to Capital Punishment in felonies was proposed in a splendid speech on March 2 by Sir James Macintosh, thus showing that the work of Sir S. Romilly for the reform of the Criminal Law was not likely to suffer by being transferred to him. The motion was carried by 147 to 128.

The question of **Parliamentary Reform** was introduced by Sir Francis Burdett, but the House would not pledge itself to consider the subject next Session.

Parliament was prorogued July 13. In his speech the Regent referred to the Reform riots which were taking place in different parts of the Kingdom.

On August 16 there was a monster Reform Meeting at

Manchester. The meeting was dispersed by the yeomanry; some persons lost their lives in the riot, and hundreds were wounded. Great disturbances followed, and occasioned such alarm that Parliament was opened on November 23 to call for the passing of measures to suppress the excitement.

On November 30 Lord Sidmouth introduced the '**Six Acts,**' being coercive measures which it was found necessary to enact to suppress the seditious feeling that was becoming prevalent. These Acts were for the more speedy execution of justice in cases of misdemeanour, to prevent military training, to punish libels, an Act for seizing arms, a Stamp Act, and an Act to prevent seditious meetings. They passed with large majorities, though there was much opposition.

This year, which had commenced under more favourable auspices than had been known for several years, terminated amidst much distress and widespread disaffection. Some have considered that this national distress was mainly caused by the premature resumption of cash payments by the Bank, which brought in its train a series of embarrassments, national and social, financial and political. The winter was a very hard one, and the coercive measures of the Government did not tend to pacify the public discontent.

1820.—The situation of the country at the commencement of the year was more tranquil than the violent popular agitation of the preceding months would have given reason to expect.

On January 23 the Duke of Kent died; and on January 29 **GEORGE III. DIED**, when the Prince Regent ascended the throne as **GEORGE IV.**

Parliament met February 17. The only thing of importance that happened was Mr. Brougham's reference to the omission of Queen Caroline's name from the Liturgy, which was the result of the determination of her husband that she should never be called Queen of England. Nothing followed from this discussion, and owing to the demise of the Crown **Parliament was dissolved** March 14.

The Cato Street Conspirators, who had plotted to assassinate the Ministers of the Crown, were arrested February 23, and Thistlewood, the leader, and four others, were condemned as traitors and executed May 1. About the time of their trial serious disturbances broke out in Scotland and Yorkshire, but were speedily suppressed.

After the general election the new Parliament met, April 21.

Mr. Grattan, the most eloquent of the Irish members of Parliament, and the leading advocate of Liberal principles, died June 6.

The debates in Parliament present this year few topics of general moment, in consequence of the engrossing interest of **the proceedings against Queen Caroline.**

One of the first acts of the King, after his accession, was to attempt to procure a divorce from his Consort, Caroline of Brunswick. She had been separated from him since the year 1814. On her proceeding to live abroad spies were set to endeavour to procure evidence against her. Our ambassadors abroad were instructed not to recognise her, and on the King's accession her name was omitted from the Liturgy. She then determined on returning to England, and arrived on June 6, the very day on which Lord Liverpool had opened an inquiry into her conduct in the House of Lords. Her arrival in London was the scene of a popular triumph, and the Ministry and the King were greatly embarrassed by it. In July a Bill of Pains and Penalties was brought in, which was to deprive her of her rights and privileges as Queen, and to dissolve the marriage. In the trial which ensued Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, and Dr. Lushington acted as her counsel. She was charged in particular with adultery with one Bergami, a menial servant. Several Italian witnesses were examined, and it cannot be doubted that her conduct in Italy had gone beyond the bounds of discretion; but the witnesses were of a low class and frequently equivocated; and there was naturally strong popular feeling in her favour. At the third reading of the

Bill, on November 10, the majority in its favour in the House of Lords had fallen to 9, and as the Bill had still to pass the Commons, the Ministers, knowing that it would inevitably be rejected, abandoned it. The popular feeling, which throughout the whole proceedings had manifested itself very warmly whenever the Queen appeared, was expressed by a general illumination, which lasted for three nights, November 10, 11, and 12; and on the 29th the Queen went in State to St. Paul's.

In consequence of these proceedings Parliament adjourned on August 21 for four weeks; again, on September 18, till October 17; and on the latter date again to November 23. On that day, owing to the abandonment of the Bill by Government, Parliament was to be prorogued. The Deputy Usher of the Black Rod entered the House of Commons with the King's message just as Mr. Denman was rising to read a message from the Queen. The Usher was called upon to withdraw, but read his message during a scene of great uproar, his voice being inaudible. The Speaker then left the chair and walked out of the House amidst vehement cries of 'Shame!' Parliament was then prorogued, in the name of the King, by the Lord Chancellor, but there was **no Speech delivered.**

No measure probably was ever introduced into Parliament in the success of which the Crown took a deeper interest than this Bill for the degradation of the Queen, and the fact that the Ministry were forced to abandon it is a proof that the whole power of the Crown and the Ministry is unavailing in any point against which the popular prejudice has been roused.

1821.—Parliament was opened, January 23, by the King. Before the meeting of Parliament **Mr. Canning,** who was President of the Board of Control, **resigned his seat** in the Cabinet, as he was unable to agree in the Ministerial policy with reference to the prosecution of the Queen; he was succeeded by Mr. Bragge Bathurst, after the post had been declined by Mr. Peel. The rest of the Cabinet

weathered the storm of unpopularity which the Queen's trial had brought upon them. A debate that ensued upon the Marquis of Tavistock's motion, which was to the effect that the Ministry were not justified in their late proceedings against the Queen, seemed to show that, though force of eloquence and sound reasoning was on one side, force of numbers was greatly in favour of the Ministry, for Lord Tavistock's motion was defeated by 324 to 178. The division took place at half-past six on the morning of February 6.

On February 13 Mr. Smith's motion to place her Majesty's name in the Liturgy was negatived by 298 to 173.

An annuity of 50,000*l.* a year was voted to the Queen.

Sir James Macintosh continued in this and other Sessions to labour to improve the Criminal Law and to carry on the work begun by Sir S. Romilly.

On February 28 Mr. Plunkett brought forward a motion for **Roman Catholic Emancipation**. The debate gave opportunity for a noble speech by Mr. Canning in favour of the second reading. Mr. Wilberforce and Sir James Macintosh spoke on the same side. Mr. Peel was the principal speaker against the Bill. The debate is memorable as being the first occasion on which **a majority for Catholic Emancipation was obtained**—254 to 243. But the Bill, having passed through committee, was rejected by the Lords on the second reading, the numbers being 159 to 120. If the measure could have become law this Session, it would have been received by Ireland as a boon; whereas it was in 1829 a thankless favour, wrung from England by her fears.

Lord John Russell brought in a Bill for gradual Parliamentary Reform, which, though rejected (156 to 125), showed the increasing strength of the respectable minority who were in favour of such a measure.

On the motion of Mr. Gooch, a committee was appointed to inquire into the causes of the agricultural distress. This, no doubt, had partly been caused by the too early resumption of gradual cash payments in 1819.

Mr. Baring's motion for the restriction of cash payments

was rejected by a large majority, and authority was given to the Bank to restore a metallic currency on May 1. There was a growing desire on the part of the public for Parliamentary Reform. During the Session Mr. Hume laboured to reduce the expenditure.

Parliament was prorogued July 11.

July 19.—King's Coronation. The Queen was kept away from the ceremony, and not allowed admission into Westminster Abbey. Shortly after this she was taken ill **and died,** August 7.

Her remains were removed on their route to Brunswick, and an alarming riot occurred; the populace, tearing up the road by which the procession was going, caused it to pass right through London. Some people were killed in the affray with the Guards. The whole affair reflected the greatest dishonour on the King and his Ministry. The plate which, by her will, was placed upon her coffin, with the inscription, 'Here lies Caroline, the injured Queen of England,' was torn off by the authorities.

1822.—At the beginning of this year there were some changes in the Cabinet, for the Ministry felt that in consequence of the unpopularity they had incurred from their policy with regard to the Queen, which had nearly caused their overthrow, it was necessary for them to obtain some accession of strength. They endeavoured, therefore, to **form a union with the Grenville Whig party.** Lord Grenville himself had retired from public life; but Mr. C. W. Wynne was placed at the head of the Board of Control, and the Marquis of Buckingham was raised to a dukedom. This union excited some clamour among the Whigs, who deemed it a betrayal of principle. At the same time Lord Sidmouth retired from active employment, though he retained his seat in the Cabinet. He was succeeded in his office of Home Secretary by **Mr. Peel,** who, it was thought, would make an effective co-operator in the House of Commons with Lord Londonderry, who up to this time had been the only leading

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Cabinet Minister there. Great changes were also made in Ireland, where the Marquis Wellesley was made Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. Plunkett Attorney-General. These changes would prove, it was hoped, conciliatory to the Roman Catholics, and were regarded as the commencement of a **new system of policy in Ireland.** But these hopes were frustrated by the increasing violence of the riots and outrages in that country. There were numerous riots, some collisions with the military, and the whole country was in an insecure and unquiet state; this, no doubt, was partly owing to the high prices and general distress.

Parliament opened February 5. The attention of the House was at first chiefly directed to the state of Ireland. Owing to its lawless condition, a Bill for the **Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act** till August 1 was introduced by the Government, and carried after strong resistance—195 to 68.

A new cause of misery arose in April by the failure of the potato crop, which caused a dreadful **famine** in Connaught and Munster.

Mr. Canning, who had been appointed Governor-General of India, introduced a Bill for the **Admission of Roman Catholic Peers** to the rights of sitting and voting in the House of Lords. His speech on the subject on April 30 was a masterpiece of rhetoric. The Bill was supported by Mr. Plunkett and opposed by Mr. Peel. The Bill passed through the House of Commons, the nearest division being 249 to 244; but on its second reading was thrown out by the Lords by a majority of 42 (171 to 129).

The question of **Parliamentary Reform** was introduced by Lord John Russell, who, on April 29, moved that the present state of the representation required serious consideration. The motion was negatived by 269 to 164.

Lord Brougham's motion on the same subject was, on June 24, negatived by 216 to 101.

On June 4 a majority of 117 to 101 supported Sir James Macintosh's motion pledging the House in the next Session to abate the undue rigour of the Criminal Law.

The Marriage Regulation Act was passed July 1.

On June 11 Mr. Western moved for a committee to consider the effects of the Bank Cash Payments Bill. The motion was negatived, after long debates, by 194 to 30. The debate was remarkable for the speeches of Mr. Huskisson in favour of the existing system, and of Mr. Attwood against it, both which speeches contain clearly all that can be said on each side.

On some questions of the reduction of the taxation the Ministry were placed in a minority, and they were forced to make numerous concessions in this direction.

The remainder of the Session was taken up in the consideration of financial measures, and in passing six Acts for improving the facilities for the trade and navigation of the country.

Parliament was prorogued on August 6.

On August 12 Lord Londonderry, in a temporary fit of insanity, committed suicide. Some of the populace behaved disgracefully at his funeral, at Westminster Abbey, on August 20.

On the subject of his death Sir A. Alison says: 'He was the last Minister in Great Britain who really governed the State. Thenceforward men were guided not by what they thought right, but by what was practicable; thenceforward the age of great causes succeeded the age of great men; public opinion became irresistible; the Press ruled alike the Cabinet and the Legislature on all important questions; where the people were strongly roused their voice became omnipotent.' This certainly has not been universally true; it was not the popular voice nor the Press that either prompted, in later years, Lord Palmerston's foreign policy or originated Mr. Gladstone's scheme for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

It was some weeks before a successor to Lord Londonderry was selected; but in September Mr. Canning was nominated, having been imposed upon the King by the general voice of the nation rather than selected by his choice.

Lord Amherst was selected to go out to India as Governor-General, in the room of Mr. Canning.

1823.—The commencement of the year witnessed some Ministerial changes. Mr. Vansittart retreated from the fatigues of the Exchequer, was raised to the peerage as Lord Bexley, and became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was succeeded by Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Huskisson was appointed President of the Board of Trade. These changes were exceedingly acceptable to the country, as these gentlemen were known to possess great talents and great liberality of opinion. Mr. Huskisson was a complete master of statistical and commercial information, and his introduction strengthened the Cabinet, although it gave offence to the Tory Lord Chancellor.

Parliament was opened February 4. During the debate on the Address Mr. Brougham reviewed in a forcible speech the conduct of foreign nations—particularly of France, which, with 100,000 troops, had invaded Spain to support Ferdinand VII. This speech was translated into foreign languages and widely circulated in Spain.

The negotiations at Paris with reference to Spain led to a three nights' debate in the House of Commons, during which Mr. Canning delivered one of his successful speeches, and the House, by an overwhelming majority, supported the Ministry.

On April 17 the **Catholic Question** was brought up, and during the debate Mr. Canning and Mr. Brougham had almost a personal quarrel, the latter saying that Mr. Canning had truckled for the purpose of obtaining office, and Mr. Canning retorting that what Mr. Brougham had said was false. The result was that the Catholic Bill was shelved.

Mr. Huskisson inaugurated his liberal policy for the improvement of our foreign trade by the Bill for the Reciprocity of Duties, which passed by large majorities.

The remainder of the Session was uneventful, and Parliament was prorogued by commission, July 19.

Mr. Canning refused to hold any communication with the Regency of Madrid, or in any way acknowledge it. He appointed consuls to the South American States, and stated that England would not interfere with Spain in any attempts she might make to reconquer what were once her colonies; and that, in granting or refusing their independence, he would look not to the conduct of any European Power, but to the actual circumstances of these countries.

Mr. Canning's influence was greatly extended during the autumn by his visiting and addressing some of the principal commercial districts.

1824.—The year opened well. The country was quiet and prosperous, and trade was thriving; and even the country gentlemen could no longer complain.

Parliament met on February 3. Debates took place on the subject of Spain.

On May 17 Mr. Hume moved that an inquiry be made 'whether the present **Established Church in Ireland** was not disproportionate to the Protestant population.' The motion was negatived by 153 to 79. Of these 79 scarcely any were Irish members.

A Bill granting the **Elective Franchise to Roman Catholics** in England was brought forward by Lord Lansdowne, but was negatived (143 to 109).

An attempt to procure for persons accused of felony the benefit of counsel was rejected in the House of Commons by 80 to 50.

The delays and expenses of the Court of Chancery were the subject of some discussion, but it led to no result.

On a motion of Mr. Hume, a committee was appointed to inquire into the operation of the laws restraining the emigration of artisans, and the combinations among workmen. On the report of the committee all the laws on these subjects were repealed. The effects of this were disastrous, for unions were formed on an extensive scale in the manufacturing districts, and numerous strikes occurred. This

necessitated the reconsideration of the subject in the next Session, and on March 29, 1825, Mr. Huskisson brought forward a Bill which proscribed all attempts at intimidation and violence, and gave summary powers of conviction in such cases.

The remainder of the Session proved uneventful. Owing to the general prosperity taxation was lowered and some duties taken off; an Act was passed for the Amelioration of the Slaves in the West India Colonies, and the Slave Trade was declared piracy. Parliament was prorogued June 25.

The first Burmese War lasted from May 11, 1824, to February 24, 1826.

1825.—The great prosperity of the country which had existed throughout 1823 and 1824 still continued, agricultural distress had disappeared, and all branches of manufacture were in full activity.

Parliament was opened February 3. In the Royal Speech it was announced that the separate independence of the new States in South America had been recognised by our Government; and the attention of Parliament was directed towards remedying the evils consequent on the Catholic Association.

On February 10 Mr. Goulburn moved for leave to bring in a law to amend the Acts relating to unlawful societies in Ireland. The object of this was to put a stop to the mischievous operations of the Roman Catholic Association in Ireland. There was a warm debate on the subject for four nights, during which Messrs. Brougham, Canning, Tierney, Plunkett, Peel, and Denman all spoke. On the division 278 voted for the motion, 123 against it. The Bill was then brought forward. The second reading was carried on February 21 by 253 to 107. It passed the Lords by large majorities (146 to 44), and became law on March 9. The Association dissolved itself, but a new association within the law was formed.

The general question of the **Roman Catholic Disabilities** was brought up by Sir F. Burdett. During the debate in

the House of Commons the Duke of York, in an imprudent manner, avowed his determined disapprobation of the measure. This was cordially resented by Mr. Brougham. The Bill passed the Commons by 248 against 227. It was, however, rejected by the Lords on May 17 by a majority of 48 (178 to 130). In consequence of this vote in the Commons Mr. Peel tendered his resignation to Lord Liverpool; but after the vote in the Lords he was persuaded to withdraw it.

Parliament was prorogued July 6.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in his Budget speech at the beginning of the Session, drawn a most favourable picture of the state of our finances, and was able to propose a reduction of taxation to the amount of one and a half million, and also, following out Mr. Huskisson's Free Trade principles, to reduce the import duties; even in the Royal Speech at the prorogation allusion was made to the growing prosperity of the country. In spite of all this the symptoms of the impending storm were already visible, and owing to the currency laws and the vast speculation which prosperity had engendered, a drain came on the Bank treasure, which decreased to only three and a half millions in August, and only one million in December. This soon brought about the **Great Monetary Crisis.** Within the first three weeks of December seventy banks in town and country suspended payment. The Bank of England itself had the greatest difficulty in weathering the storm. Every effort to expand the circulation was made by Government, and for some time 150,000 sovereigns were coined every day. The great relief came by the accidental discovery and issue of two millions of old notes on December 16. The panic abated, the crash was averted, and a meeting of bankers in the City passed resolutions declaratory of confidence in Government and the Bank of England.

1826.—Parliament met February 2. Attention was at once directed to the commercial panic, which had caused such ruin and distress in the country. The Ministry un-

wisely introduced a Bill suppressing the 'small notes' circulation. The House refused to listen to Mr. Baring's amendment, and the Bill passed by an overwhelming majority. This measure, Sir A. Alison says, 'determined for ever the fate of the British Empire.' He attempts to trace up to this apparently trivial matter the desire for political change which, thenceforward induced by high prices, has prevailed in the country; and this, he says, has forced upon reluctant governing classes all the great historical changes—of Catholic Emancipation, Free Trade, and the Emancipation of the Slaves, and the entire alteration of foreign alliances, policy, and system of government. The small notes, thanks to the protest of Sir Walter Scott, were allowed to circulate in Scotland.

A select committee to inquire into the expediency of encouraging emigration was appointed, but nothing further on that subject was done this Session.

On April 18 Mr. Whitmore moved for a consideration of the **Corn Laws**, with a view to their **repeal**. The Ministry resisted the motion, not on its merits, but on the ground of the inexpediency of bringing such an important subject forward on the eve of a general election. The motion was therefore negatived by 215 to 81. The close of the Session witnessed some discussions on the practice of the Court of Chancery, but they led to no practical result.

Parliament was dissolved June 2.

At the general election the chief topics at the hustings were the Corn Laws and Catholic Emancipation; but on the whole the elections went off quietly.

After the excitement of the elections was over the prospects of the harvest gave rise to grave apprehensions. The summer had been remarkable for its drought and excessive heat, and the price of grain rose enormously.

The new Parliament was opened November 14.

Mr. Manners Sutton was unanimously elected **Speaker.**

An Act of Indemnity to Ministers was passed for their having, by an Order in Council in September, reduced the

import duty on foreign grain, in order to abate the impending famine.

On December 11 a message was brought from the King to Parliament stating that an application had been received from the Princess Regent of Portugal claiming aid against a hostile aggression from Spain. Mr. Canning moved the Address in reply, and said that the Cabinet had decided on sending an expedition to defend the independence of an ally, and that already the troops were on their march for embarkation.

Mr. Canning's magnificent speech was rapturously received; but an amendment to the Address was moved by Mr. Hume. After a short debate Mr. Canning replied in a speech even more eloquent than his first, and the Address was carried almost unanimously. Never, perhaps, did speeches delivered in the House of Commons produce such an effect as those of Mr. Canning; it was in his reply that he used those memorable words with reference to the French invasion of Spain in 1822, where he said he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. The effect was electrical both upon the House and country; the supporters of Mr. Hume's amendment numbered only four, and out-of-doors the prompt action of the Government inspired confidence and commanded universal concurrence of sentiment.

The troops were embarked with such expedition that, though they only received their marching orders on December 11, on Christmas Day they began to land in Lisbon. (Their arrival averted war; the incursions from Spain ceased; France disavowed the proceeding; and in eighteen months the troops had all returned from Lisbon without having fired a shot.) The House adjourned on December 13.

1827.—The internal state of the country was more cheering; and if prosperity had not yet returned, suffering had sensibly abated.

On January 5 the Duke of York died. He was succeeded in the command of the army, which he had held 'ten thousand days,' by the Duke of Wellington. Parliament met again on February 8, and at once voted an Address of Condolence to the King on his brother's death. Lord Liverpool moved it in the Upper House, and Mr. Peel in the Commons. The increased grant to the Duke of Clarence on his becoming heir-presumptive to the Crown was passed, after some opposition.

From the commencement of the Session expectation had been fixed on the question of the **Catholic Claims**. The Catholic party thought they had gained on the whole by the general election, and the Catholic Association continued to act; while the law for its suppression was not put in force. Sir Francis Burdett brought the matter forward by moving that 'this House is deeply impressed with the necessity of taking into immediate consideration the Catholic Disabilities, with a view to removing them.' On March 6, after a long debate, Mr. Canning summed up in a masterly speech, and the House divided—272 for the motion, 276 against it. This adverse vote showed that the Anti-Catholic party had, on the whole, gained ground at the elections. The motion from the Lords was withdrawn.

Even superior in interest to the above was the subject of the resolutions on the **Corn Laws,** moved by Mr. Canning on March 1. Mr. Peel opposed the resolution, but a Bill was brought in, which passed through the House of Commons at the time when the change of Ministry occurred.

Shortly after the meeting of Parliament the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, was suddenly attacked by a paralytic stroke. Although his life was spared for the present, he was permanently rendered incapable of business, and **the office of Prime Minister then became vacant.** The difficulties in the way of appointing a successor were greatly increased by the nature of the Cabinet over which he had presided; it had been composed of most discordant materials, especially on the Catholic Question, and was alone kept

together by Lord Liverpool. Consequently for more than a month the Government remained without a nominal and responsible head.

Although Lord Liverpool was undoubtedly surpassed in brilliancy of talents by more than one of his colleagues, the country trusted in him on account of his unquestioned integrity and disinterestedness. By his removal from office the differences of opinion which prevailed within the Cabinet were freed from their restraining weight; and men who had willingly acted under the prudent Lord Liverpool would not recognise the advancement of any rival, thus rendering the choice of a head most difficult. To add to the embarrassment, the King was personally averse to the promotion of the most prominent member of the Cabinet, although the voice of the nation was unmistakably in Mr. Canning's favour, his foreign policy having made him more popular in the country than any Minister since the days of the Pitts.

During the first ten years of this Administration Lord Londonderry had been the most prominent man in the Cabinet. During the remaining five years the Cabinet was really led by Mr. Canning. His fame chiefly rests on his marvellous eloquence and on the foreign policy of those five years. The first principle which he laid down in 1823 was to destroy the power of the Holy Alliance, to separate England from the union of Continental Sovereigns, and to make the maintenance of British interests his main consideration. He resisted the attempts of France and Russia to assist Spain in recovering her American possessions; and he recognised the independence of the Spanish Colonies and of Brazil. The Treaty of London, which was concluded subsequently in 1829, was but the result of Mr. Canning's policy; by this treaty the final liberation of Greece was secured.

During the whole of this Administration Lord Palmerston was Secretary at War. Lord Liverpool died December 4, 1828, having never recovered from the paralytic stroke which necessitated his resignation of office.

MR. CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION

(CONTINUED BY LORD GODERICH)

1827

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. George Canning, died August 8, succeeded by Lord Goderich, as Premier, and Mr. J. C. Herries, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in August.
2. Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord Lyndhurst.
3. Lord President of Council .	Earl of Harrowby, resigned from ill-health. Duke of Portland, in August.
4. Lord Privy Seal . . .	Duke of Portland. Earl of Carlisle, in July.
5. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Bexley.
6. Home Secretary . . .	Mr. Sturges Bourne. In July he became Commissioner of Woods and Forests, and was succeeded by Marquis of Lansdowne.
7. Foreign Secretary . . .	Viscount Dudley.
8. Colonial Secretary . . .	Viscount Goderich, Leader of the Lords. Mr. Huskisson, in August, intended Leader in the House of Commons.
9. Without office till July . .	Marquis of Lansdowne.
10. President of Board of Trade .	Mr. Huskisson. Mr. C. Grant, in August.
11. President of Board of Control .	Mr. C. Wynn.
12. Secretary at War . . .	Viscount Palmerston.
13. Master of the Mint . . .	Mr. Tierney.

MR. CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION

From—April 10, 1827, *to* August 8, 1827.
Duration—120 days.
Reign—George IV.
Party—The Liberal Pro-Catholic Party of the Tories.
Principal Events—None.
Parliaments Dissolved—None.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. C. M. Sutton.

LORD GODERICH'S CONTINUATION OF MR. CANNING'S ADMINISTRATION

From—August 8, 1827, *to* January 1828.
Duration—160 days.
Reign—George IV.
Party—As above.
Principal Events—Disputes and Disunion in the Cabinet.
Parliaments Dissolved—None.

1827.—As has already been mentioned, more than a month elapsed after Lord Liverpool's seizure before a successor was appointed. The Cabinet had been composed of two very diverse parties, the Pro- and the Anti-Catholic parties, and as soon as the pressure of Lord Liverpool's authority was removed it was manifest they could not hold together. Although Mr. Canning was by far the most talented of the Ministers, none of the Anti-Catholic party would act under him; and, besides, the King was determined not to have the Catholic Question raised, and was personally averse to Canning. It was on this question of the Catholics that the Cabinet, after Lord Liverpool's resignation, split and

went to pieces. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Wellington, and Mr. Peel, formed the strength of the Anti-Catholic party, and yet neither of them could claim the vacant Premiership on equally popular terms with the eloquent and talented Foreign Secretary. The two former seemed disqualified, the one by age and official situation, and the other by his military character. Mr. Peel, though possessing great weight and reputation, was a younger statesman than Mr. Canning, as well as a less brilliant debater. For these reasons the King felt he had no alternative but to call upon Mr. Canning for his advice as to the reconstruction of the Ministry. Mr. Canning, knowing the King's own desire, recommended him to form an entirely Anti-Catholic Ministry, and to exclude him from office. This Mr. Peel declared impracticable, and suggested a mixed Cabinet, under such a nominal head as Mr. Frederick Robinson; but to this scheme Mr. Canning would not listen. The King, therefore, was compelled to authorise Mr. Canning to form the Ministry himself, but hoped, by getting him to include many of the late Ministry, that they would still be at variance among themselves on the Catholic Question.

In reply, however, to Mr. Canning's circular, Mr. Peel, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Westmorland, Lord Bexley and Lord Eldon, and Earl Bathurst resigned. Lord Melville, although agreeing on the Catholic Question, also resigned; and among the remainder of the office-holders and the Household there were numerous resignations. All the Tory lords were offended at Mr. Canning's elevation, and so strong was their feeling that eight dukes presented a petition to the King remonstrating against his appointment, and notifying that they would offer a determined opposition to his Government. The Duke of Wellington even resigned his command of the army.

The recess of Parliament from April 12 to May 1 gave the new Premier time to complete his arrangements, which he did by selecting his colleagues chiefly from the Whig Pro-Catholic party, although the King still insisted that the

Catholic Question was not to be made a Cabinet one. Mr. Robinson was raised to the Peerage as Lord Goderich, with a view to his being Leader in the House of Lords.

When Parliament reassembled after the recess on May 1 explanations were given in both Houses of Parliament, both by the new Ministers and by those of the late Ministry who had forsaken Mr. Canning. The bitterest opposition to him was proclaimed in the House of Lords. The Marquis of Lansdowne, however, in July accepted a seat in the Cabinet as Secretary for the Home Department; Mr. S. Bourne becoming Commissioner of Woods and Forests.

The **Corn Law Bill**, which had passed the Commons before the recess, was brought up to the Lords, and on May 25 the debate for referring it to a committee took place. A hostile amendment to it, brought forward by the Duke of Wellington, was carried against the Government by 78 to 74, and this necessitated the withdrawal of the Bill by the Government, for a second division on the subject gave a larger majority than before to the Opposition. Mr. Canning, in commenting on this amendment, used some severe remarks about its author and supporters, which language was warmly resented in the Upper House.

The principal other events which took place in the remaining fragment of a Session which succeeded the formation of the new Ministry were the personal alienation of Mr. Peel, who openly raised the standard of opposition, and the bitter charges of political tergiversation which were freely bandied about.

Parliament was prorogued July 2. In his Speech the King said that though the Corn Law Bill had not been carried this Session, its consideration would be resumed early next Session.

Soon after the rising of Parliament **Mr. Canning**, whose health had long been delicate, and who was worn out by mental anxiety, was attacked by illness, from which he never recovered. He went down to the Duke of Devonshire's house at Chiswick, and there, **on August 8, he died** in

the same house in which Mr. Fox had died. This unexpected event produced a profound impression through the country, for Mr. Canning possessed in his own character enough to justify the admiration which attended him while living and the regrets that followed him to the grave. In him Europe lost her ablest statesman, and the Commons of England their finest and most finished orator. Mr. Canning's widest fame will always rest, like that of Lord Chatham, on what he performed as Foreign Secretary. His countrymen will always remember him in that capacity as one who proudly maintained the honour of their country; and who then, by the mere force of talent, was called to be Prime Minister of England.

On Mr. Canning's death **Lord Goderich took the reins of government**, and was succeeded in the Foreign Office by Mr. Huskisson, who was intended to be the Leader in the House of Commons. The main difficulty lay in finding a Chancellor of the Exchequer. The office was declined by Mr. Tierney, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. S. Bourne; but eventually Mr. Herries was appointed. Upon this the Marquis of Lansdowne tendered his resignation, but by the King's expressed desire he retained his post. The Duke of Wellington, who had felt himself slighted by Mr. Canning, immediately resumed the command of the Army; but no other changes occurred in the Cabinet. It soon became felt that the discordant elements of which the Cabinet was composed would not long hold together when the master-hand of Canning was withdrawn; and the introduction of Mr. Herries proved a new element of discord. On the subject of nominating a Finance Committee no communication at all was held with Mr. Herries, and Lord Althorp was proposed as chairman by Mr. Huskisson. As soon as this became known to Mr. Herries, he protested against such an appointment being made as long as he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and therefore properly head of all the Finance Department.

Mr. Huskisson threatened to resign unless Lord Althorp

was appointed, and Mr. Herries resigned because he could not remain with such a public slight upon him. **Lord Goderich**, unable to decide between them, himself **resigned**; and thus, before Parliament met, the Canning Coalition Ministry came to an end. It was not the dispute between Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Herries only that destroyed the Cabinet; because, in truth, in the middle of December, before the difference about the chair of the Finance Committee had arisen, Lord Goderich, feeling his inability to fill the place he held, and considering all the embarrassments of his position, had actually tendered his resignation. He took with him from office a high and honourable character, but he left neither his King nor his country impressed with any high idea of his energy and decision, or of his power and skill to grapple with difficulties or control jarring spirits.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION 1828–1830

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Duke of Wellington.
2. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. H. Goulburn.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Lyndhurst.
4. Lord President of Council	Earl Bathurst.
5. Lord Privy Seal	Lord Ellenborough. Earl Rosslyn (a Whig), became Lord Privy Seal in July 1829.
6. Home Secretary	Mr. Robert Peel, Leader in the House of Commons.
7. Foreign Secretary	Earl Dudley, resigned May 1828. Lord Aberdeen.
8. Colonial Secretary	Mr. William Huskisson, resigned May 1828. Sir G. Murray.
9. Master of the Mint	Mr. J. C. Herries.
10. President of Board of Control	Viscount Melville; in August 1828. Succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, who until July 1829 retained also the office of Lord Privy Seal.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty	Viscount Melville, from Aug. 1828, on the resignation by the Duke of Clarence of the office of Lord High Admiral.
12. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Earl of Aberdeen. His successor, Mr. Charles Arbuthnot, had no seat in the Cabinet.
13. Treasurer of Navy and President of Board of Trade	Mr. Charles Grant, resigned. Mr. W. V. Fitzgerald.
14. Secretary at War	Lord Palmerston, resigned. His successor, Sir H. Hardinge, had no seat in the Cabinet.

DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION

From—January 1828 *to* November 16, 1830.
Duration—2 years and 301 days.
Reigns—George IV. and William IV.
Party—Tory.
Principal Events—Catholic Emancipation. Riots.
Parliament Dissolved—July 24, 1830, on Demise of Crown.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. C. M. Sutton.

1828.—The new Government was speedily constructed. In framing it almost all the members of the former one were retained, except the Marquis of Lansdowne, Mr. Tierney, and Sir James Scarlett—Whigs who had joined Mr. Canning in the day of his necessity; but the rest of the Canningites remained; even Messrs. Huskisson and Herries, whose antipathies had been so fatal to the late Ministry, became members of the new one. Thus was the Ministry restored to very much the same *personnel* which had held office under Lord Liverpool.

Considerable ill-feeling was excited outside at Mr. Huskisson's retaining office under a chief opposed to the alteration of the Corn Laws and Roman Catholic Emancipation. But on May 19, on a difference of opinion about the disenfranchisement of East Retford, **Mr. Huskisson sent in his resignation.** It was promptly accepted by the Duke. On Mr. Huskisson attempting to withdraw from his words, the Duke said, 'It is no mistake; it can be no mistake; and it shall be no mistake.'

His resignation was followed by that of the **whole of the Canningite party—Lords Dudley and Palmerston, and Messrs. Lamb and C. Grant.** The Duke therefore remodelled

his Ministry out of the Tory party, taking in the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir George Murray, Sir Henry Hardinge, and Mr. V. Fitzgerald. During the autumn the Duke of Clarence resigned his office of Lord High Admiral, in consequence of an objection being taken to his costly marine shows. Lord Melville was consequently reinstated at the Admiralty, and Lord Ellenborough succeeded him at the Board of Control.

Parliament met January 29. In the King's Speech reference was made to the rupture between the Porte and the Greeks, and the untoward battle of Navarino. The early part of the Session was chiefly occupied in personal accusations and explanations with reference to the Ministerial arrangements above recorded.

The Bill for Repealing the Tests and Corporation Acts was introduced by Lord John Russell. These Acts had excluded from office all who refused to take the Sacrament according to the ritual of the Church of England. The Government opposed the motion for a committee on the subject, but it was carried, February 26, by 237 to 193. On February 28 a resolution was carried that the Acts ought to be repealed, Mr. Peel and other members of the Government leaving the House without voting. The Bill subsequently passed the committee, with an amendment added by Mr. Peel which substituted in the case of Dissenters a declaration in lieu of the Sacramental test. The Bill, after much discussion, passed the Lords April 28, the Ministry and the Bishops acceding to it in its amended form.

On May 8 Sir Francis Burdett moved that the House resolve itself into committee **to consider the Laws affecting Roman Catholics,** with a view to a conciliatory adjustment. The motion was opposed by the Government, but after three nights was carried by a majority of 6 (272 to 266). Instead of proceeding further, a conference was held with the Lords to ascertain their sentiments on the matter. The subject was discussed in the Lords for two nights, but the

motion was negatived by a majority of 44 (181 to 137), and so the matter ended for the present Session.

New Corn Law Bill, with a sliding scale of protective duties, passed.

Parliament was prorogued July 28.

In Ireland great excitement was caused by the **election of Mr. O'Connell, a Roman Catholic,** as member for county Clare, thus defeating Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who was seeking re-election on his acceptance of office. Public meetings were held in Ireland in favour of the Catholic Association, and some in England in opposition to it. In December Dr. Curtis, the titular Catholic Primate of Ireland, wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington on the state of the country and on the necessity of settling the question of Emancipation in order to restore concord. The Duke replied that he could see no prospect of such a settlement. This letter Dr. Curtis sent to the Marquis of Anglesea, Lord Lieutenant, who in reply stated that he differed from the opinion of the Duke. He was in consequence recalled on December 30, and was succeeded by the Duke of Northumberland.

1829.—Parliament opened February 5. The King's Speech, in alluding to the state of Ireland, stated that the existence of the Catholic Association was dangerous to the public peace and inimical to the spirit of the Constitution; it was therefore necessary to grant powers to maintain authority; but at the same time it added a recommendation to take into consideration the laws which impose civil disabilities on the Roman Catholics, with a view to their removal in a manner consistent with the full security of our Establishments in Church and State. This took the nation by surprise. Up to this time none had known that His Majesty's Ministers intended to recommend to Parliament an entire abandonment of the principle which both the Premier and the Leader of the House of Commons had, up to the close of last year, determinedly upheld; and there

can be no doubt that the disingenuousness of their conduct lowered the characters of the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel in public estimation.

The first act of the House was the **suppression of the Catholic Association**. This Bill was introduced by Mr. Peel, and passed without a division; but before it became law the Association forestalled it, and declared itself dissolved, as its objects had been already fulfilled by the Government Bill of Relief to Catholics.

In consequence of this change of policy Mr. Peel felt bound to resign his seat for the University of Oxford, but sought re-election. Every exertion was used by the Government and the Whigs to secure his return, but he lost, and was at once returned for Westbury; Sir Robert Inglis representing the University.

Mr. Peel introduced the **Bills for Catholic Relief** on March 5. The main objects of the Bills were to enable Roman Catholics to sit in either House of Parliament, and to declare them eligible for any appointment except Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. The first division for going into committee was carried by a majority of 188 (348 to 160). The second reading was carried, March 18, by a majority of 180 (353 to 173). Sir Charles Wetherall, who had spoken with indignant plainness against the Bill, was removed from his office of Attorney-General, and Sir James Scarlett was appointed.

The second reading was carried in the Lords, April 4, by a majority of 105 (217 to 112), after three nights' debate. The Duke of Wellington admitted that the Cabinet had been compelled to yield to the popular will on the subject, being thoroughly convinced that the choice lay between concession and civil war. The King reluctantly gave his assent, and the **Catholic Relief Bill became Law**.

On May 15 Mr. O'Connell, the Roman Catholic member for Clare, claimed to sit under the new Act, but refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, which the House required, since

he had been elected under the old law; a new writ therefore was issued for Clare.

Mr. Peel's **Metropolitan Police Bill** was passed.

Parliament was prorogued June 24.

On March 21 there was **a duel** between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Winchelsea, in consequence of the latter refusing to withdraw certain remarks in a public letter, imputing to the Duke base motives in introducing the Catholic Relief Bill. Lord Winchelsea received the Duke's fire and then fired in the air, and he then apologised.

In May the Earl of Suffolk was elected member for Horsham; he was the **first Roman Catholic who took his seat in the House.**

1830.—Parliament opened February 4.

Since the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill the Ministers found themselves estranged from a large body of their Tory adherents, and were only enabled to continue in power by the aid of the Whig party, who were ready to coalesce with them, but expected to receive a share of power.

The early part of the Session was occupied in debates on economical reforms.

The question of **Parliamentary Reform** became, now that the Catholic Relief Bill was passed, the question of the day; but Lord John Russell's resolutions for extending the Basis of the Representation of the People were (May 28) negatived by 213 to 117; and Mr. R. Grant's Bill for giving Relief to the Jews was thrown out at the second reading by 228 to 165.

An Address to the Crown by both Houses of Parliament, praying for the removal of Sir Jonah Barrington from his office of Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in Ireland, was passed.

GEORGE IV. DIED, JUNE 26th. SUCCEEDED BY WILLIAM IV. On the motion of an Address to His Majesty amendments were moved in the Lords by Lord Grey, in the Commons by Lord Althorp, in order to consider the

expediency of providing a regency in case of the demise of the Crown. The amendments were both negatived—in the Lords 100 to 56, in the Commons 185 to 139.

Parliament was prorogued by the King on July 23, and on the next day, in consequence of the recent demise of the Crown, **it was dissolved.**

July 27.—Revolution in Paris. Charles X. abdicated and sought refuge in England. The Duke of Orleans was chosen King and ascended the throne as Louis Philippe.

In November occurred the insurrection at Brussels in favour of the independence of Belgium, then under the rule of Holland.

At the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, September 15, Mr. Huskisson was killed.

The progress of the Session which had just closed had separated the Ministry not only from their old friends, but also from the Whigs, who had kept the Duke of Wellington in office, but who came to the general election in a spirit of bitter and determined opposition, their hopes having been disappointed by him. The elections, taken as a whole, terminated unfavourably for the Ministry.

The new Parliament met on October 26. Mr. Manners Sutton was unanimously re-elected as **Speaker.** On November 2 the King opened the Session in person. In his Speech the King referred to the recent events in France and Belgium, to the recent agrarian riots, and the destruction of machinery by incendiaries. In the debate on the Address the Duke of Wellington declared his opposition to any species of Parliamentary Reform. In the House of Commons the Ministry were attacked by Lord Althorp, Mr. Brougham, and others, but they did not divide on the Address.

On November 9 the Royal party, with the leading Ministers, were to dine at the Mansion House, but owing to fears of a riot in consequence of the Duke's unpopularity they did not venture to go. Public opinion decided that the Ministers exhibited themselves in a timid, a ridiculous, and unpopular light; and such was their

position when they brought on the question of the settlement of the Civil List for the new reign.

On November 15 Sir H. Parnell moved for the appointment of a select committee, which, after a short debate, was carried against Ministers by 233 to 204.

The next day the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel announced that they had **tendered their resignations**, which had been accepted. They afterwards declared that they had come to this resolution not so much on account of the above adverse vote, as because they appreciated that the House had determined on Parliamentary Reform.

The year 1830 has been characterised as the nadir of the Tory party, as the years 1814 and 1815 had been its zenith.

It was just before the meeting of this Parliament that the Duke of Wellington had in vain attempted to persuade Lord Palmerston to join his Ministry.

EARL GREY'S ADMINISTRATION

1830–1834

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury . Earl Grey.
2. Lord President of Council . Marquis of Lansdowne.
3. Lord Chancellor . . . Lord Brougham.
4. Lord Privy Seal . . . Lord Durham, made Earl of Durham in 1833. Succeeded by Earl of Ripon, April 1833; resigned May 27, 1834. Succeeded by Earl Carlisle.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer . Viscount Althorp, Leader in the House of Commons.
6. Home Secretary . . . Viscount Melbourne.
7. Foreign Secretary . . . Viscount Palmerston.
8. Colonial Secretary . . . Viscount Goderich, created Earl of Ripon and Lord Privy Seal. Succeeded by Mr. Stanley, 1833, resigned May 27, 1834. Succeeded by Mr. Spring Rice.
9. President of Board of Control . Mr. Charles Grant.
10. President of Board of Trade and Master of the Mint . Lord Auckland, ceased to sit in the Cabinet 1833. Succeeded, in May 1834, by Mr. Poulett Thomson.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty . Sir J. Graham, resigned May 27, 1834. Succeeded by Lord Auckland.
12. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster Lord Holland.
13. Postmaster-General . . Duke of Richmond, joined Cabinet in 1832; resigned May 27, 1834. Succeeded by Marquis of Conyngham.
14. Paymaster-General . . Lord John Russell, joined Cabinet in 1832.
15. Secretary for Ireland . . Mr. Stanley, joined Cabinet in 1832, became Secretary of State 1833. Next Secretary for Ireland, Sir J. Cam Hobhouse, who did not sit in the Cabinet. He was succeeded by Mr. E. J. Littleton.
16. Without Office till 1834 . . Earl of Carlisle, joined Cabinet 1832.

EARL GREY'S ADMINISTRATION

From—November 1830 *to* July 8, 1834.
Duration—3 years and 231 days.
Reign—William IV.
Party—Whig.
Principal Event—Reform Bill.
Parliaments Dissolved—April 22, 1831, as the Ministry were defeated on the Reform Bill.
December 3, 1832, to elect the new Reformed Parliament.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. C. M. Sutton.

Before forming the Ministry Lord Grey had obtained the King's consent to his making Parliamentary Reform a Government measure.

Mr. Stanley, on seeking his re-election for Preston, on his acceptance of the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland, was defeated by the Radical, Mr. Hunt, but was elected for Windsor.

1831.—Lord John Russell introduced the **first Reform Bill** in the Commons; and on March 22 the second reading was carried by a majority of 1 in a house of 603; but subsequently Ministers being defeated, April 21 (142 to 164), on a question of adjournment proposed by General Gascoyne, tendered their resignation. This the King refused to accept, but **dissolved Parliament**, April 22, in order to take the sense of the people on the proposed measure.

The great election cry was 'The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!' and nearly all the county members were returned pledged to support the Bill.

The new Parliament was opened June 14, and re-elected Mr. C. M. Sutton as **Speaker.** The King's Speech recommended the expediency of Parliamentary Reform.

Lord John Russell made his *second* attempt, and introduced a **Bill for Reform.**

Debates on the second reading commenced July 4. On the third night, *i.e.* July 6, House divided, and it was carried (367 to 251). From July 13 to September 7 the Bill was in committee. In committee the Opposition met the Bill with every possible obstruction. 'Nights of divisions' were the rule. One instance will suffice. On July 12, 1831, a motion was made for the Speaker to leave the chair, in order that the House might go into committee on the Reform Bill. It was met by the Tories with repeated motions for adjournment, on each of which a discussion followed and a division took place. The House was kept sitting until half-past seven in the morning. When Sir Charles Wetherall, who had led the Opposition on this occasion, came out, it was raining heavily. 'By God!' he exclaimed, in a tone of vexation, to a friend who accompanied him; 'if I had known this they should have had a few more divisions!'

It was passed September 19 (349 to 236). From October 3 to 8 it was debated in the House of Lords, and thrown out (158 to 199). On October 10 Lord Ebrington carried a resolution in the Commons lamenting the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords (329 to 198).

October 20 the Parliament was prorogued, having sat all the autumn, the King stating that a Reform Bill should again be submitted at the opening of the ensuing Session.

There were Reform riots all over the country, especially at Derby and Nottingham; but there was a most serious **riot at Bristol**, October 29 to 31, when a great part of the city was burnt and many lives lost.

December 6 Parliament opened. The King in his Speech recommended a careful consideration of the **new Reform**

Bill, which was introduced by Lord John Russell, December 12, being his *third* attempt in that year. The second reading was carried, December 17, by 324 to 162.

1832.—January 19 Mr. Stanley, the Irish Secretary, and Mr. Jeffrey, the Lord Advocate, introduced, respectively, the Irish and Scotch Reform Bills. The Reform Bill was in committee from January 20 to March 10. The third reading was carried, March 19, by 355 to 239.

From April 9 to 13 there were Reform debates in the House of Lords, the final debate lasting till 7 A.M., when the second reading was carried by 184 to 175; but on May 7 the Ministers were defeated in the Lords on Lord Lyndhurst's amendment (115 to 151), and consequently TENDERED THEIR RESIGNATIONS unless the King would create a batch of New Peers. The King sent for the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, and Sir R. Peel, but they failed in forming an Administration, and the former Ministers were accordingly recalled, May 17, Lord Grey stating that their retention of office must depend on the conviction of being able to carry the Reform Bill unimpaired.

The Reform Bill then silently passed the House of Lords, and was, June 4, carried (106 to 22), in consequence of 100 Opposition peers (the Duke of Wellington amongst them) withdrawing from the House in obedience to a circular from the King.

The Bill received Royal Assent June 7.

Irish Reform Bill, August 7.

July 27.—**Budget.**

July 31.—Abolition of punishment of death for forgery.

August 3.—Question of West India Relief introduced.

August 6.—Parliament prorogued.

During all this year Ireland was in a very disturbed state, and there were numerous outrages and murders.

After the delay necessary to complete the registration **Parliament was dissolved** on December 3.

1833.—First elections under the Reform Act. The country was in a riotous state. 509 Reformers and 149 Tories returned.

Parliament opened February 5. Mr. C. M. Sutton was re-elected **Speaker.**

Irish debates. **Coercion Bill for Ireland,** to suppress the disturbances, passed March 29, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The debates contained vigorous speeches by Sir R. Peel, Mr. Stanley, and Mr. O'Connell.

A Bill for reducing the **Irish Church Establishment** passed, after long debates, in August, by which the bishoprics were reduced in number from 20 to 12, and the money placed at the disposal of Government was appropriated to the increase of small livings, building of churches, and other ecclesiastical purposes.

A New Charter to the East India Company was granted for twenty years; but the monopoly of the China trade was taken away, and the commercial character of the Company obliterated. The Bill passed without opposition.

But the most important of all the Acts passed was that for the **Abolition of Slavery,** by which all slaves in British colonies were manumitted, becoming apprenticed labourers for six years to their present owners. And twenty millions were voted as compensation to the slave-owners.

Lord Ashley's Bill for Regulating the Labour of Little Children in Factories passed.

Parliament was prorogued August 29.

1834.—Parliament met February 4. Mr. O'Connell raised a long debate on the Repeal of the Union, which terminated in an Address to the King from the two Houses expressing their resolve to maintain the Union.

Irish Church Reduction Bill introduced by Mr. Ward, who proposed to secularise the surplus revenues of the Irish Church. On this point the Cabinet were divided in opinion, and Mr. Stanley, Sir J. Graham, Earl Ripon, and the Duke of Richmond not agreeing to divert from ecclesiastical use

any Church property, resigned May 27. The next day the King replied extempore to a birthday address from the Irish bishops in a spirit of warm opposition to the Bill. Mr. Ward's motion, pressed to a division, was negatived by a majority of 276 in a House of 516.

At the beginning of July Lord Althorp, not being able to carry through the Commons his renewal of the Irish Coercion Bill, sent in **his resignation** with Mr. Littleton's; and on July 9 **Lord Grey** stated in the Lords that, owing to Lord Althorp's resignation, and a division of opinion in the Cabinet, and his own declining health, he had tendered his **resignation.**

During his Ministry Lord Grey exercised an active supervision over foreign policy; and so he divides with Lord Palmerston the credit or discredit of the recognition of Belgian independence, and the active support given to the constitutional claimants of the Spanish and Portuguese thrones.

LORD MELBOURNE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

1834

THE CABINET

1.	First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Melbourne (first time).
2.	Lord President of Council	Marquis of Lansdowne.
3.	Lord Chancellor	Lord Brougham.
4.	Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Mulgrave.
5.	Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader in the House of Commons	Viscount Althorp, succeeded his father as Lord Spencer in November 1834, and had to go to the Upper House.
6.	Home Secretary	Viscount Duncannon.
7.	Foreign Secretary	Viscount Palmerston.
8.	Colonial Secretary	Mr. T. Spring Rice.
9.	President of Board of Control	Mr. C. Grant.
10.	First Lord of the Admiralty	Lord Auckland.
11.	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Holland.
12.	Paymaster-General	Lord John Russell.
13.	Commissioner of Woods and Forests	Sir J. C. Hobhouse.
14.	Master of the Mint	Mr. J. Abercromby.
15.	Secretary at War	Mr. Edward Ellice.

LORD MELBOURNE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

From—July 11, 1834, *to* November 14, 1834.
Duration—128 days.
Reign—William IV.
Party—Whig.
Principal Events—None.
Parliaments Dissolved—None.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. C. M. Sutton.

1834.—On July 17 Lord Melbourne appeared as head of what was called the New Administration, but which really was Lord Grey's Cabinet with alterations in the offices of Lord Privy Seal, Treasury, and Home Office; and Sir J. C. Hobhouse had a seat in the Cabinet as Commissioner of Woods and Forests. Lord Althorp easily persuaded himself to return to the Exchequer and the Leadership of the House of Commons.

A fresh **Coercion Bill**, slightly modified from the former, was introduced by Ministers, who were much assailed for tergiversation in retaining their places at the expense of their principles. After opposition from Mr. O'Connell and others, the Bill finally passed, July 29.

Irish Church Temporalities Act passed.

Poor Law Amendment Act, which had been introduced by the late Government, was passed. Commissioners appointed.

Jewish Disabilities Bill passed in the Commons, rejected by the Lords.

August 15.—King prorogued Parliament.

Before the prorogation the weakness and vacillation of the Government were apparent, and their existence depended only on the support of those who did not conceal their contempt, *i.e.* Mr. O'Connell and his party. The reputation of the Cabinet was lowered by the hostility of the Press in general, and by Lord Brougham's injudicious speeches during the autumn. On November 10 Earl Spencer's death removed Lord Althorp to the House of Lords. On November 14 Lord Melbourne waited on the King at Brighton to propose Lord John Russell as Lord Althorp's successor as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader in the Commons; but the King peremptorily **dispensed with the services of the Ministry**, perhaps from his dislike of Lord Brougham as Chancellor, but ostensibly because Lord Melbourne had on a former occasion stated that he could not carry on the Government without Lord Althorp as Leader in the Commons, and so the King took him at his word.

On October 16 the Houses of Parliament were destroyed by fire.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

1834–1835

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir Robert Peel (first time).
2. Lord President of Council	Earl Rosslyn.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Lyndhurst.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Lord Wharncliffe.
5. Home Secretary	Mr. Henry Goulburn.
6. Foreign Secretary	Duke of Wellington, Leader of the House of Lords.
7. War and Colonial Secretary	Earl of Aberdeen.
8. First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl De Grey.
9. President of Board of Control	Lord Ellenborough.
10. President of Board of Trade and Master of the Mint	Mr. Alexander Baring.
11. Paymaster of the Forces	Sir Edward Knatchbull.
12. War Secretary	Mr. J. C. Herries.
13. Master-General of Ordnance	Sir George Murray.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

From—November 1834 *to* April 18, 1835.
Duration—140 days.
Reign—William IV.
Party—Tory.
Principal Events—None.
Parliament Dissolved—December 30, 1834, to strengthen the position of the Ministry.
Speaker of the House of Commons—
Sir C. M. Sutton, created Viscount Canterbury, February 1835.
Mr. James Abercromby.

1834.—On the dismissal of Lord Melbourne's Administration the King, on November 15, sent for the Duke of Wellington, who advised him to entrust the Government to Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert was then in Italy, but he was at once communicated with, and until his arrival the Duke carried on the Government, singly discharging in his own person the duties of the Cabinet and the Secretaries. The messenger arrived in Rome on November 25, and by December 9 Sir Robert Peel had an audience with the King and accepted the office of Prime Minister. He made unsuccessful overtures to Lord Stanley and Sir J. Graham to join his Cabinet. By the end of December his official arrangements were completed. On December 30 **Parliament was dissolved.**

1835.—Parliament opened on February 19. The Opposition carried the election of Mr. J. Abercromby, Master of the Mint in the late Ministry, as **Speaker** of the House,

against Sir Charles Manners Sutton, after a close division (316 to 306). The latter was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Canterbury. There were warm debates in both Houses on the Address, with reference to the manner of the change of Ministry. The amendment on the Address was carried by a majority of 7 against the Government in a House of 611; but Sir Robert Peel declared that an unfavourable vote would not induce him to resign. The Marquis of Londonderry, who had been nominated Ambassador at St. Petersburg, declined the appointment in consequence of its general condemnation in the House of Commons.

Ecclesiastical Commission appointed.

Long debates ensued on the subject—brought forward by the Opposition—of appropriating the **surplus revenues of the Irish Church** to other than strictly ecclesiastical purposes, during which the Ministry introduced their Tithe Bill for Ireland. The Ministry were defeated on April 2 by a majority of 33 in a House of 611, on April 6 by a majority of 25 in a House of 499, and on April 7 by a majority of 27 in a House of 543, and so on. April 8, Sir Robert Peel, being unable to govern the country in the face of a hostile majority in the House of Commons, told the House that the Government had reluctantly **tendered their resignation** of office; and the same day the Duke of Wellington made a similar statement in the Lords.

From this failure of the first Administration of Sir Robert Peel it is apparent how utterly incapable of accomplishing any good, or of commanding general respect, must be any Ministry, however talented its head, without a majority in the House of Commons. In fact a Government in a minority is a state of things inconsistent with the working of the English Constitution; but Sir Robert Peel had proved himself a most skilful and efficient leader of the Tory party.

LORD MELBOURNE'S
SECOND ADMINISTRATION
1835–1841

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Melbourne (second time).
2. Lord President of Council	Lord Lansdowne.
3. First Lord of the Admiralty	Lord Auckland. Earl Minto, September 1835.
4. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Holland, died October 22, 1840. Sir George Grey, June 1841.
5. Commissioner of Woods and Forests and Lord Privy Seal	Viscount Duncannon. In August 1839 he resigned the Privy Seal, but remained in the Cabinet as First Commissioner of Land Revenue.
6. Home Secretary	Lord John Russell, Leader in the House of Commons. Marquis of Normanby, in 1839.
7. Foreign Secretary	Lord Palmerston.
8. Colonial Secretary	Mr. Charles Grant, created Lord Glenelg. Lord John Russell, in 1839.
9. Secretary for India	Sir J. C. Hobhouse.
10. War Secretary	Viscount Howick, resigned from disagreement about the changes in the Cabinet. Mr. T. B. Macaulay, September 1839.
11. President of Board of Trade	Mr. Poulett Thomson, appointed Governor-General of Canada. Mr. Henry Labouchere, August 1839.
12. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Spring Rice, created Lord Monteagle. Mr. F. T. Baring, August 1839.
13. Great Seal in Commission	Lord Cottenham (C. Pepys) became Lord Chancellor in January 1836.
14. Chief Secretary for Ireland	Lord Morpeth, joined the Cabinet in 1839.
15. Lord Privy Seal	Lord Clarendon, in 1839, and on the death of Lord Holland took the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster until June 1841.

LORD MELBOURNE'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

From—April 18, 1835, *to* September 3, 1841.
Duration—6 years and 138 days.
Reigns—William IV. and Victoria.
Party—Whig.
Principal Events—Rebellion in Canada, Afghan War, Disturbances at home.
Parliaments Dissolved—July 17, 1837, on Demise of Crown.
June 23, 1841, in consequence of defeat of Ministry on the Budget.
Speaker of the House of Commons—
Mr. James Abercromby, created, in 1839, Lord Dunfermline.
Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre.

On the resignation of Sir Robert Peel the King sent for Earl Grey, by whose advice the task of forming a new Administration was again committed to the hands of Lord Melbourne. He reformed his old Ministry, but was not joined by Lord Spencer (late Lord Althorp); and he also resolved not again to be encumbered with the dangerous assistance of the versatile Lord Brougham. Lord John Russell was his leader in the Commons.

1835.—Municipal Corporation Act passed.

A Bill for **Regulating the Irish Church**, introduced into the Commons by Lord Morpeth, was voted for by a majority of 37 in a House of 601. Its principal features were the commutation of tithe, the closing of all benefices where there were not more than fifty Protestants, and the appropriation of the funds so accruing to the moral and religious training of the people. The Opposition did not attempt to alter it in committee, and it passed the Commons August 12.

The Lords in committee threw out all the clauses, except those for the commutation of tithe, by a majority of 97 in a House of 179; and as Lord Melbourne said he was unable to send back to the Commons the Bill so mutilated, it was no further proceeded with. Parliament prorogued September 10. Hunt and Cobbett both died this year.

1836.—Parliament met on February 14. This was a year of commercial prosperity and of much useful legislation. But there were various differences between the two Houses.

The Irish Corporations Bill, which passed the Commons, was amended in the Lords, but the amended Bill was rejected by the Commons and lost.

The Irish Tithe Bill, with an Appropriation Clause, passed the Commons by a majority of 26 in a House of 554. But the Lords, by a majority of 91 in a House of 185, threw out the Appropriation Clause; the Commons rejected the Lords' amendment, and dropped the Bill. English Tithe Commutation Act passed. Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages passed.

Marriage Bill passed; also Bill for reducing stamps on newspapers. Established Church Bill for newly distributing the episcopal dioceses and incomes passed. Parliament prorogued August 20.

1837.—Parliament met on January 31.

Long debates on the subject of Ireland. Irish Municipal Corporation Bill passed the Commons by majority of 54 in House of 549; but the Bill was postponed by the House of Lords.

Abolition of Church Rates Bill was virtually defeated after long debates. Vote by ballot, proposed by Mr. Grote, was opposed by the Government and lost by 155 to 267.

The foreign policy of the Government was attacked by Lord Mahon, Lord F. Egerton, and Sir Henry Hardinge, and ably defended by Lord Palmerston, who justified our

recognition and support of Isabella as Queen of Spain. The Ministry obtained a majority of 36 in a House of 520.

Mr. Roebuck's motion, condemning the Ministry for not introducing more reforming measures, was negatived without a division.

June 20.—**KING WILLIAM IV. DIED. QUEEN VICTORIA ASCENDED THE THRONE.**

June 30.—**Budget** brought forward. Reduction of Death Punishments passed: an auspicious commencement of the reign.

July 17.—Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person, and the same evening **was dissolved.** The demise of the Crown thus caused the early adjournment and dissolution of Parliament, and the postponement of public business.

The general election returned a Parliament with an uncertain majority of about 16 for the Ministry, who by the Queen's accession gained considerable power, for they exchanged the late King's ill-concealed hostility for her cordial support.

November 20.—The Queen opened her first Parliament in person, and in the Speech attention was directed to Municipal Government and collection of tithes and the state of the poor in Ireland; it was also stated that the disturbed state of Canada required immediate consideration. Before the year was out information was received that **a rebellion had broken out in Canada**; so the Christmas recess was shortened.

1838.—Parliament met on January 16, and discussed Canadian affairs. Lower Canada, which was chiefly occupied by the French, had revolted, owing to popular discontent on matters connected with the power of the Assembly over the taxation and expenditure of the revenue. The revolt was easily put down by the troops. One Papineau was the leader of the rebels. Sir Francis Head, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, denuded his province of troops to assist Sir J. Colborne and Lord Gosford in

Lower Canada. He did this intentionally, in order to leave Toronto in the hands of the people. On December 4 Toronto was surrounded by an armed body of rebels under McKenzie, and Sir F. Head appealed to the loyalty of the people for protection. The rebels were utterly routed, and the tranquillity of the province was only disturbed by bands of brigands from the United States. Sir F. Head, having differed from the Cabinet on various colonial matters, resigned, and Lord Durham was sent out as Governor-General of Canada. The greater part of the Session was occupied in the discussion of these Canadian affairs. Lord Durham's conduct was much criticised, and his ordinance pronounced illegal, and an Act of Indemnity was passed for those who had acted under it. On proclaiming this Act Lord Durham signified his intention of resigning. He was succeeded by Sir John Colborne.

June 28.—**CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.** Parliament prorogued August 16.

During this Session the Ministry were much hampered by the Opposition, and there was great public discontent at the working of the new Poor Law; indeed, it was clear that public opinion had shifted to the Conservative party.

In October the **Afghan War** commenced, and the British troops entered Afghanistan to restore Shah Shooja to the throne of Cabul.

1839.—The **Chartists** gave cause for grave anxiety. Lower Canada was again in insurrection. The state of Ireland, too, was, as ever, unsatisfactory; but the subject of the **Corn Laws** about this time became, instead of the Irish Church, *the* party question of the day. Parliament met February 6. The most important debates at first were upon Irish affairs—especially upon the murder of Lord Norbury.

On April 9 Mr. Labouchere obtained leave to bring in a Bill to suspend the present **Government of Jamaica** for five years, and entrust the government to a governor and two or three commissioners. The reason of this was that the

Legislative Assembly had put themselves in violent opposition to the Imperial Government and had resented its interference—the abolition of slavery being the root of the ill-feeling, and the proposed Bill being required for the safety of the enfranchised blacks. The motion was on May 6 carried by 294 to 289—leaving Government only a majority of 5. **So the Ministry resigned**, as they considered it impossible in such circumstances to proceed with the Bill effectively in committee.

Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington had interviews with the Queen, but they failed to arrange a Ministry, as they wanted **to remove all the ladies** of the Queen's Household and to put in others of their party. This indignity the Queen resented, and called back Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell; and at a Cabinet Council a minute was recorded saying that, 'The great offices of Court and situations in the Household held by Members of Parliament should be filled by the Ministers, but not the offices held by the ladies of Her Majesty's household.' And thus **the Whigs returned to power.**

Mr. Abercromby having, from failing strength, resigned the office of **Speaker**, was created Lord Dunfermline.

The Whigs put up Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and the Tories Mr. Goulburn, as his successor. The former was elected by 317 to 299—a majority of 18.

The Queen prorogued Parliament August 27, referring to the necessity of using force to repress the Chartist riots. There were serious Chartist riots at Birmingham, Newport, and other parts of the country.

The Afghan War continued throughout the year. Shah Shooja was crowned, and Ghuznee and Cabul were captured.

In Canada Sir J. Colborne was recalled and Mr. Poulett Thomson appointed Governor-General.

During the recess the Cabinet was recast in order to strengthen it, Lord Howick and Mr. Spring Rice leaving it, and Lords Morpeth, Clarendon and Normanby, Messrs. Macaulay, Labouchere and Baring, joining it.

1840.—Penny Postage established.

Marriage of the Queen and Prince Albert, February 10.

January 16.—The Queen opened Parliament.

January 27.—Lord John Russell moved for an annual grant of 50,000*l.* a year for Prince Albert. Colonel Sibthorp's amendment, substituting 30,000*l.*, was carried by 262 to 168.

January 28.—Sir T. G. Buller moved a vote of non-confidence in the Ministers. The motion was, after four nights' debate, lost by 308 to 287, giving the Ministers a majority of 21.

April 7.—Sir James Graham brought forward a motion condemnatory of the past policy of Ministers with reference to China. The debate lasted three days, and the motion was lost by 262 to 271—majority 9.

The Irish Municipal Corporations Bill was passed by large majorities.

Upper and Lower Canada united into one Government.

Treaty concluded, July 16, by Russia, England, Austria, Prussia, and Turkey for the expulsion of Ibrahim Pasha from Syria.

Parliament prorogued August 11.

In September Beyrout was taken by the Allied Squadron, and in November St. Jean d'Acre was also stormed and taken; and the Egyptians quitted Syria.

The treaty concluded with the four European Powers with reference to Syria was entirely due to Lord Palmerston, and almost brought about a war with France. A general impression arose that Lord Palmerston was a peremptory and dangerous, though able, Minister. But his own party dared not resist him.

1841.—Chinese War continued.

January 26.—The Queen opened Parliament.

There were close divisions during the early part of the Session on the Bill for the Registration of Votes in Ireland.

The Jews' Civil Disabilities Removal Bill passed in the Commons, but was rejected in the Lords.

Mr. Baring brought on his **Budget** on April 30. It showed a deficiency of seven and a half millions. The debates on it, and on the Corn Law, and on Lord Sandon's motion about the Sugar Duties, lasted eight nights, at the end of which **Government were defeated** by 36 (317 to 281).

On May 27 Sir R. Peel moved a vote of non-confidence in the Ministers, and after five days' debate the Ministry were in a minority of 1 (312 to 311). In consequence of these adverse votes the Government determined to appeal to the country, and **Parliament was dissolved** June 23.

The Liberals appealed to the country on the anti-monopoly cry. The Tories' chief cry was the feebleness of the Whig Ministry.

The new Parliament met on August 24, there being a nominal Tory majority of 82. In the House of Lords the amendment on the Address was carried against the Ministry by a majority of 72 (168 to 96).

In the Commons, after a debate of three nights, the amendment was carried against the Ministry by a majority of 91 (360 to 269).

On August 30 information of the **resignation of the Ministry** in consequence of the above adverse vote was given in both Houses. Lord John Russell added: 'We began in the commencement of Lord Grey's Administration with the Reform Act—we ended by proposing measures for the freedom of commerce. With large and important measures we commenced, with large and important measures we conclude.' Lord Stanley complimented Lord John Russell on the zeal and talent with which he had always performed his arduous duties as Leader in the House of Commons.

During this Ministry Lord Palmerston had exclusive control over the Foreign Office, and acted almost independently of his chief and colleagues. It was during these years that his name became so celebrated, and represented throughout Europe the power of England.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S
SECOND ADMINISTRATION
1841–1846

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Sir Robert Peel (second time).
2. Lord President of Council	Lord Wharncliffe, died Nov. 19, 1845.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Lyndhurst.
4. No Office	Duke of Wellington, Leader in the House of Lords. On Lord Hill's death, in 1842, the Duke of Wellington assumed the command of the forces.
5. Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Buckingham, retired in Feb. 1842 because he could not concur in the proposed alteration of the Corn Laws. Succeeded by Duke of Buccleuch.
6. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. H. Goulburn.
7. Home Secretary	Sir James Graham.
8. Foreign Secretary	Earl of Aberdeen.
9. Colonial Secretary	Lord Stanley, in November 1845. (When the Ministry resigned on the Corn Law question, Lord Stanley seceded from them, and on their reassuming their offices after a fortnight Mr. Gladstone took the Colonial Office.)
10. First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl of Haddington.
11. President of Board of Control	Lord Ellenborough, appointed Governor-General of India in Jan. 1842. Lord Vesey Fitzgerald. Earl of Ripon, in 1843.
12. President of Board of Trade	Earl of Ripon. Mr. W. E. Gladstone. In the beginning of 1845 Mr. Gladstone resigned on account of the increase of the Maynooth grant. His successor, the Earl of Dalhousie, had no seat in the Cabinet.
13. War Secretary	Sir Henry Hardinge, went in 1844 as Governor-General to India. His successor, Sir Thomas Fremantle, had no seat in the Cabinet; but in 1845 Hon. Sidney Herbert became Secretary at War, with seat in the Cabinet.
14. Paymaster-General	Sir Edward Knatchbull, died 1845. His successor, Mr. W. Baring, had no seat in Cabinet.
15. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Granville Somerset.
16. Commissioner of Woods and Forests	Earl of Lincoln.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

From—September 8, 1841, *to* June 29, 1846.
Duration—4 years and 293 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Tory, but the Cabinet having been converted to the doctrine of Free Trade, estranged the Protectionist part of the Tories.
Principal Events—Afghan, Scinde, and Sikh wars, Bank Charter Act, Repeal of the Corn Laws.
Parliaments Dissolved—None.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre.

1841.—The House met on September 16, and Sir Robert Peel announced that he would not bring forward his financial measures till next Session. This determination to postpone the pressing question of the Corn Laws was warmly deprecated by Lords J. Russell and Palmerston, Mr. Cobden, and others. Also in the House of Lords, where the Duke of Wellington, in reply, said: 'I have no intention of bringing forward a scheme for the alteration of the Corn Laws. I have not the power of doing so; I have not sufficiently considered these measures, and, therefore, I will not.'

The prorogation took place on October 7.

The new Ministry had taken office under the most gloomy circumstances. Europe was distracted, the West India Colonies were ruined, Canada was dissatisfied; at the Cape the Kaffirs were hostile, the Afghan War was raging in India, and we had a war in China. But the state of matters at home was more gloomy still: there was great commercial and manufacturing distress, there were vast

financial difficulties; with inefficient armaments, an uneasy spirit prevailed throughout the country, and there were serious riots both in England and Scotland.

November 9.—The **Prince of Wales born.**

1842.—The retirement from the Cabinet of the Duke of Buckingham, before the meeting of Parliament, gave token that the Cabinet had resolved to alter the Corn Laws.

In January Lord Ellenborough was sent out as Governor-General of India, and was succeeded by Lord Vesey Fitzgerald at the Board of Control.

Parliament met February 3. The chief part of the Session was occupied in debates on the **Corn Laws** and the Ministerial financial scheme; Sir R. Peel's modified **Sliding Scale for Duty on Imported Corn** was carried by large majorities. Lord John Russell's amendment rejected, February 16, by majority of 123 (349 to 226). Third reading carried April 7. After long debates and numerous divisions favourable to the Ministry the **Income Tax Bill** was read a third time, May 30, imposing a tax of 7*d.* in the pound. Sir Robert Peel was the first Minister, after Mr. Pitt, who acted on the conviction that financial and commercial embarrassment might be removed by the same process. In bringing forward his Budget this year he appealed to Parliament to make a great effort at once to relieve trade and restore the impaired solvency of Government; and by putting on the income tax he was enabled to reduce various onerous duties.

Lord Ashley's Bill prohibiting the Employment of Females and Boys under Ten Years of Age in Mines and Collieries passed.

After the awful disaster at Cabul **the Afghan War** was gloriously ended in October.

In August **the Chinese War** was ended by conclusion of a treaty.

1843.—Parliament met February 2. There were great

national distress and commercial and general depression. The chief debates during the Session were on **the Corn Law.** Lord Howick's motion to investigate the cause of distress (or, in other words, to reduce the duty on corn) was, February 17, negatived by a majority of 115 (306 to 191). The debate had lasted four nights, during which Sir R. Peel complained of the use, by Mr. Cobden, of the words 'individual responsibility,' and, in a speech of great force, reviewed what Government had effected in their sixteen months' tenure of office—viz., they succeeded in terminating two wars, reduced the expenditure, pacified Canada, adjusted differences with the United States, diminished duty on colonial produce, and, by the labours of Soult and Wellington, were labouring to establish amicable relations with France.

Lord Ellenborough's policy in Afghanistan and India was much discussed, though the resolution of censure was negatived in both Houses—Lords, 83 to 25; Commons, 242 to 157. On May 16 Mr. Villiers moved for a committee of the whole House upon the **Corn Laws.** Debate lasted five nights. Motion negatived by a majority of 256 (125 to 381). Subsequently Lord John Russell, June 13, brought on the same topic, when the Ministers again got a majority of 99 (244 to 145).

There were hot Irish debates on the introduction by the Government of the **Irish Arms Act**, which was passed by considerable majorities.

Parliament was prorogued on August 24.

The Repeal Agitation in Ireland was led by Daniel O'Connell, and there were monster meetings; that of Clontarf, on October 7, was prohibited by Government proclamation, and O'Connell and others were arrested on a charge of sedition.

Rebecca Riots broke out in Wales, against toll-gates, in February. An old woman, a tollkeeper, was murdered, September 10. Many persons were arrested, and some punished.

Secession of the Church in Scotland, and the Free Kirk established.

Scinde War. Scinde annexed to the British Empire. Sir C. Napier appointed Governor.

In September the Queen visited Louis Philippe in Normandy.

1844.—Parliament met on February 2, during the trial of Daniel O'Connell at Dublin for sedition. Public attention was, therefore, much directed to Irish affairs. He was found guilty, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and 2,000*l.* fine. (September 5 he was released.) Indian affairs were also much discussed; and the army in Scinde, under Sir Charles Napier, was publicly thanked.

April 21.—**Lord Ellenborough was recalled** from being Governor-General of India by the Court of Directors, in direct opposition to the wishes of the Government. Sir Henry Hardinge was sent out to succeed him.

Mr. Villiers's annual motion for Repeal of the Corn Laws was negatived—328 to 124.

On the **Budget** the Government were defeated (241 to 221) on an amendment, proposed by Mr. Miles, referring to the **Sugar Duties.** On the 17th Sir R. Peel asked the House to reconsider the subject and to rescind its former vote. Mr. Disraeli made a most taunting speech on this occasion, but the Government obtained a majority of 22 (255 to 233).

Sir R. Peel's financial measures seemed crowned with success, for he had this year converted the deficiency bequeathed by his predecessors into a surplus, and was enabled again to revise the indirect taxes; and as he devoted his attention more and more to political economy his eyes were opened to the anomaly of the Corn Laws, which stood out more conspicuously as minor abuses were removed.

On May 6 Sir Robert Peel introduced his Bill for the new **Bank Charter** in a speech of great ability. The Bill

passed, with hardly any opposition, on July 12. By this Act the note issue was separated from the banking department, and other banks were restricted from issuing notes.

Parliament was prorogued September 5, having adjourned from August 8.

The **Tahiti** troubles, caused by the high-handed conduct of Admiral Dupetit Thouars, might have caused a rupture between England and France, had it not been for the good sense of Sir R. Peel and M. Guizot, who amicably adjusted the question. During this year both the Czar and Louis Philippe visited England.

1845.—Parliament met on February 4. Before that Mr. Gladstone had retired from the Ministry, as the Government idea of increasing the grant to Maynooth College was opposed, not to his present ideas (for he supported the Government measure), but to the principles advocated in his book *Church and State.*

The **Maynooth debates** lasted for many nights. The second reading was carried at 3 A.M., April 19, by 323 to 176. Remarkable speeches were delivered by Lord J. Russell and Sir R. Peel, both acknowledging the necessity of a policy of conciliation towards Ireland. Sir James Graham intimated that the old days of Protestant ascendency were gone, and that Ministers would not be responsible for the government of Ireland on those principles. On going into committee on the Maynooth Grant Mr. Macaulay said that, of all the institutions now existing in the civilised world, the Established Church of Ireland was the most utterly indefensible. Lord Wharncliffe spoke similarly in the Lords. The grant was 30,000*l.*, and an annual 26,000*l.*

Both this year and the previous year the **Railway Committee** business was very heavy, as the Railway Mania was at its height.

Irish Colleges Act passed.

It was during these years that **Mr. Disraeli** first signalised himself by his bitter personal attacks on Sir R. Peel.

Parliament was prorogued August 9.

The Irish Potato Crop failed this year.

The Cabinet held numerous Councils at the beginning of November, and it was understood that they were divided in opinion on the subject of the Repeal of the Corn Laws. In consequence of this on December 10 **Sir R. Peel placed his Resignation** in Her Majesty's hands, and advised her to send for **Lord J. Russell**, who had just put himself at the head of the Free Trade Movement; but he failed to form a Liberal Government, as Lords Grey and Palmerston would not act together. Consequently, and as Lord Stanley was unable to bring together a Protectionist Government, **Sir R. Peel resumed office**, on the 23rd, with the same Administration; with the exception of Lord Stanley, whose place at the Colonial Office was taken by Mr. Gladstone.

1846.—Parliament was opened January 22. The sudden adoption by the Government of the principle of **Free Trade in Corn** was alluded to in the opening Speech of the Queen, and that of Sir R. Peel. The debate on the Corn Laws commenced on February 9, and lasted for twelve nights. Sir R. Peel had to meet taunts of change of policy. His own mind had gradually, by the course of events and by the success of his own financial policy wherever the protective duties had been relaxed, been educated to this liberal view, and his weight carried the Conservative Administration along with him. It was in the autumn of 1845, when the Cabinet met for the indispensable purpose of opening the ports to foreign grain, in consequence of the failure of the potato crop and deficiency in the harvest, that Sir R. Peel first announced to his colleagues his determination **permanently to abolish the corn duty.** Most of the Cabinet agreed with him. Even the Duke of Wellington admitted its expediency, but disapproved of the principle of the measure. It was only Lord Stanley who left him, and, by carrying away from him all the staunch Conservatives, crippled the

power of the Government. It was now that, in spite of the irritating taunts of Mr. Disraeli and the opposition of former friends, Sir R. Peel exhibited all the resources of his unequalled Parliamentary skill in carrying the measure through the House—generously acknowledgfng that the benefit was due, not so much to a recent convert, as to its more consistent advocates—especially Mr. Cobden.

The Corn Law League, though, like all similar associations, dangerous to public order, was distinguished from others by the soundness of its solitary doctrine and the great ability of its leaders, Bright and Cobden, who therein first showed those great powers which subsequently gave them such commanding influence, both in and out of Parliament.

On February 27 the Ministers got a majority of 97 (337 to 240), and 98 for the third reading on May 15 (327 to 229). In the House of Lords, after long debates, the second reading was carried by a majority of 47 (211 to 164). On June 25, the very night of Sir R. Peel's greatest triumph, when the Corn Importation Act was read a third time in the House of Lords and passed, **the Ministry were defeated on the Life Preservation Bill** for Ireland by a majority of 73 (219 to 292). The Opposition which defeated the Ministry was composed of Whigs, Radicals, and Protectionists, under Lord John Russell, Lord George Bentinck, and Mr. Disraeli.

On the 29th, in consequence of this vote, the **Ministers announced their resignation**. Sir R. Peel, promising a qualified support to Lord John Russell's Ministry, declared for perfect equality in the spirit of legislation between England and Ireland, paid a graceful compliment to Mr. Cobden, and concluded by announcing the settlement of the Oregon question.

For the remainder of his life this great statesman maintained a dignified position as first member of the House of Commons, generally supporting the Minister by whom he had been supplanted.

The Sikh War, which commenced November 1845, terminated, after the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon, in March 1846.

Thanks, peerages, and pensions were voted for Generals Hardinge and Gough.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S
FIRST ADMINISTRATION
1846–1852

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Lord John Russell (first time).
2. Lord President of Council	Marquis of Lansdowne, Leader in the House of Lords.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Cottenham, resigned July 1850, created an earl. Lord Truro, in July 1850.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Minto.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir Charles Wood.
6. Home Secretary	Sir George Grey.
7. Foreign Secretary	Viscount Palmerston. Earl Granville, December 22, 1851.
8. Colonial Secretary	Earl Grey.
9. First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl of Auckland, died January 1, 1849. Sir F. T. Baring, in 1849.
10. President of Board of Control	Sir J. Cam Hobhouse, created Lord Broughton in February 1851.
11. President of Board of Trade	Earl of Clarendon, May 1847, went to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. Succeeded by Mr. H. Labouchere.
12. Paymaster of the Forces	Mr. T. B. Macaulay. Lost his seat for Edinburgh in 1847. Succeeded by Earl Granville, who till 1851 had no seat in the Cabinet.
13. Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests	Viscount Morpeth, afterwards Earl of Carlisle. Lord Seymour, in 1851.
14. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Campbell, in 1850, was made Lord Chief Justice. Earl of Carlisle (late Viscount Morpeth).
15. Postmaster-General	Marquis of Clanricarde.
16. War Secretary	Mr. Fox Maule, in 1850, had a seat in the Cabinet.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

From—July 6, 1846, *to* February 23, 1852.
Duration—5 years and 230 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Whig.
Principal Events—Irish Famine, Sikh Wars, Chartist Petition, Gold Discoveries, French Revolution.
Parliament Dissolved—July 23, 1847.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre.

1846.—Lord J. Russell constructed his Ministry almost exclusively from his former colleagues under Lord Melbourne, and took his seat in the House as Prime Minister on July 13.

In August the duties on Free and Slave-grown sugars were equalised, the Government obtaining a majority of 130 (*i.e.* 135 for an adverse amendment proposed by Lord G. Bentinck *v.* 265); and before the Session closed Lord J. Russell carried through Parliament the Irish Coercive Bill, which had been proposed by Sir R. Peel.

Parliament was prorogued August 28, the chief topics in the **Royal Speech** being the settlement of the Oregon dispute, the victorious and happy conclusion of the Sikh War, and the failure of the potato crop in England.

This year was the first bad year of **THE IRISH FAMINE,** which lasted some three years and more. In order to attempt its relief, as far as possible, Parliament and Government did all in their power: all duty on grain imported into Ireland was taken off, and an immense amount was sent over.

The subscriptions for relief reached their maximum in March 1848, when one million of the Irish were living dependent upon charity. In spite of all half a million of people were calculated to have died of the famine and its effects during the period of the five years from 1846 to 1850. In two years 8,000,000*l.* sterling were given from public and private subscriptions. In the three years, 1847-8-9, half a million of Irish came into England, and upwards of two millions went to foreign countries. The population, which, according to the census in 1841, was 8,175,124, in 1851 was only 6,515,794.

During this year there was much diplomatic fencing between France and England on the subject of the Spanish royal marriages.

1847.—Parliament met January 19. The chief part of the Session was taken up in devising means to relieve the Irish distress, but was uneventful, though some useful domestic Acts were passed. **Parliament was dissolved** July 23, having had the full duration of seven Sessions.

The general election returned 338 members for the Ministry, 120 Peelites, and 200 Protectionists. The latter generally directed their chief attack on the Peelites, who mostly voted with the Government.

Mr. T. B. Macaulay, a member of the Cabinet, lost his seat for Edinburgh owing to his vote for the Maynooth grant.

During the early part of the autumn there were great commercial and railway failures, which caused **a monetary crisis.** In October Lord J. Russell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer authorised the Governor of the Bank of England temporarily to depart from Sir R. Peel's Bank Restriction Act of 1845, in order to relieve the money market. And in order to indemnify them for this an autumnal Session was held from November 18 to December 30. Mr. Shaw Lefevre was unanimously elected **Speaker.** The Irish Crime and Outrage Bill was passed, and, after a

long debate on the subject of the Jewish Disabilities, leave was given to bring in a Bill by 253 to 183.

1848.—Parliament met again February 3. The **Jewish Disabilities Bill** passed the Commons, the second reading being carried, February 11, by 277 to 204; but eventually was rejected by the Lords, May 25, by 163 to 128.

The French Revolution occurred at the end of February, which, causing great diminution in our exports, aggravated the general distress.

The proposed augmentation of the income tax from 3 to 5 per cent. was abandoned.

March 6, there was a riot at Glasgow; and on April 10 there was the monster **Chartist meeting** on Kennington Common to present the great petition, said to be signed by two millions. The display ended without bloodshed, owing to the admirable arrangements of the Duke of Wellington.

The excitement consequent on the French Revolution manifested itself in Ireland by an attempted insurrection under Smith O'Brien. It was quickly suppressed.

The foreign policy of Lord Palmerston was attacked by Mr. C. Anstey, Mr. Disraeli, and Lord Stanley.

Diplomatic intercourse with Spain was suspended till 1850.

Parliament was prorogued September 5.

On the death of Lord George Bentinck this autumn Mr. Disraeli became the leader of the Protectionist party.

This year was one of great disturbance throughout all the European States, and there were numerous revolutions.

In December Louis Napoleon was elected President of the French Republic.

1849.—Parliament met February 1. On the Sicilian question, Mr. Disraeli's amendment on the Address was withdrawn after a long debate, in which Lord Palmerston made an excellently lucid statement on the whole subject.

The Resolution prolonging for another six months the

suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland was carried —221 to 18.

The Repeal of the Navigation Laws passed after much opposition—275 to 214; and in the Lords by a majority of 10. Irish Encumbered Estate Act passed.

The **Oaths Bill** for the admission of Jews into Parliament again passed the Commons, but was again rejected by the Lords by 95 to 70. Baron Rothschild, who was elected M.P. for London, was not allowed to sit.

The **second Sikh War**, which began in November 1848, terminated in March, under Lord Gough, after the battles of Chillianwalla and Gujerat, and the Punjaub was annexed. In March Sir Charles Napier was sent out to India as Commander-in-Chief.

Parliament was prorogued August 1.

The sentence of death passed last year upon Smith O'Brien was commuted to transportation.

1850.—Parliament opened January 31. An amendment on the Address was negatived by 192 to 311. In January **Lord Palmerston**, acting on his own authority, had sent a British fleet to blockade the Piræus, demanding from the Greek Government compensation for injuries received by British subjects. France and Russia protested, but Lord Palmerston's resolute will compelled the Greeks to submit, and all danger of a collision passed. All parties, however, were startled to find out how peace and war depended on the fiat of a single Minister, and formal **censure** was proposed. In the Lords there was a majority of 37 **against the Ministers.** The debate in the Commons was brought on by Mr. Roebuck on June 19, and lasted some nights. Lord Palmerston defended himself with vigour in a splendid speech of five hours' length, maintaining that he had not failed of his duty in the proud position of the Minister who wielded the magnificent power of England, and fearlessly challenged the verdict of the House. Sir Robert Peel, in the last speech he ever made, which was distinguished by a manly generosity

of tone, said that though they condemned the exploit, yet they were all proud of the man.

The House divided—310 to 264; being a majority of 46 in favour of the Government. Lord John Russell, however, who had eloquently vindicated Lord Palmerston, 'not as the Minister of any foreign country, but as only the Minister of England,' forwarded to Lord Palmerston, as soon as the Session was over, a Royal command that in future the Foreign Secretary should submit all important despatches to the Queen and the Prime Minister.

Sir Robert Peel died, July 2, in consequence of a fall from his horse.

Baron Rothschild, as Member of Parliament elect for London, was not permitted to take his seat until he had taken the form of oath required by law; but a resolution was passed pledging the House to bring forward a measure of relief for the Jews in the next Session.

Parliament was prorogued on August 15.

About this time the gold discoveries in Australia and California were made.

In July Sir Charles Napier resigned his Indian command, in consequence of differences with Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General.

During this Session the House of Commons sat for the first time in their new House.

In September the Pope issued a Bull appointing a Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England.

1851.—Parliament opened February 4. The Premier obtained leave to introduce his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill by 395 to 63. Mr. Disraeli's motion in favour of a protective policy, and which was really introduced with the object of defeating the Ministry, was, on February 13, after a long debate, negatived by a majority of only 14 (281 to 267).

On February 17 the Ministry **suffered a defeat** in a thin House, on a motion of Mr. Locke King to extend the franchise (100 to 52).

As it was clear, therefore, that the Ministry had declined in popularity, and even at the beginning of a Session, with all their work before them, could only command a very small majority in the House, **Lord John Russell resigned**, on February 22. But Lord Stanley, who was sent for by the Queen, found himself unable to form a Government without Mr. Gladstone, who refused to act with him; and Her Majesty asked Lord John Russell to undertake the charge of reconstructing the Ministry.

From February 22 to March 3 there was virtually no Administration, Her Majesty being guided by the counsels of the Duke of Wellington. The reason of Lord John Russell's difficulty was that on the subject of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill he was unable to obtain the concurrence of Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham. On March 3 it was announced in both Houses that, in obedience to Her Majesty's invitation, and in conformity with the advice of the Duke of Wellington, the **former Ministers had resumed their places.**

The second reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, after a very long debate of many nights, was carried by 438 to 95. The Peelites were its main opponents, and the Bill was discussed in committee till June 27, and passed the Lords July 29.

Mr. Alderman Salomons, who had been elected Member of Parliament for Greenwich, although refusing to repeat the words 'on the true faith of a Christian,' took his seat, July 18, against the authority of the Speaker; he refused to withdraw when ordered, and even spoke and voted, amidst a scene of great confusion, but was eventually removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms.

There were debates about Lord Torrington's administration of Ceylon, and Mr. Baillie's motion on this subject on May 28, which the Government regarded as a vote of non-confidence, was negatived by 282 to 202.

This year, during the Colonial debates, the right of **Self-Government in the Colonies** was admitted and established.

Parliament was prorogued August 8.

International Exhibition in London opened May 1. Closed October 11.

Burmese War begun in October.

December 2.—**Coup d'Etat in Paris.** Louis Napoleon became President, and Lord Palmerston, without the authority of his chief or colleagues, authorised the English Ambassador at Paris cordially to acknowledge the title.

1852.—For thus—in spite of the warning in 1850—carrying on affairs too much upon his own responsibility **Lord Palmerston was removed from the Foreign Office,** and Lord Granville was put in his place.

Parliament met February 3.

The recall of Sir Henry Smith from the Cape was commented upon.

On February 16 Lord J. Russell brought forward his Militia Bill for England and Wales. Lord Palmerston proposed an amendment, extending the provisions of the Bill to the whole of the United Kingdom. This amendment was carried, on February 20, by 136 to 125, leaving Ministers in a minority of 11, in consequence of which Lord J. Russell signified his intention of **resigning.**

EARL OF DERBY'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

1852

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Derby (first time).
2. Lord President of Council	Earl of Lonsdale.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord St. Leonards.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Marquis of Salisbury.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Disraeli, Leader in the Hous Commons.
6. Home Secretary	Mr. Walpole.
7. Foreign Secretary	Earl of Malmesbury.
8. Colonial Secretary	Sir J. Pakington.
9. First Lord of the Admiralty	Duke of Northumberland.
10. President of Board of Control	Mr. Herries.
11. President of Board of Trade	Mr. Henley.
12. Commissioner of Woods and Forests	Lord John Manners.

EARL OF DERBY'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

From—February 27, 1852, *to* December 18, 1852.
Duration—300 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Conservative.
Principal Events—Death of the Duke of Wellington, Louis Napoleon, Emperor of the French.
Parliament Dissolved—July 2, 1852.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre.

1852.—The new Ministry was speedily formed, and consisted of twelve members, six in each House; and on February 27 Lord Derby explained the motives which induced him to take office and the course he intended to pursue.

The new Ministry took office with an acknowledged minority in the Lower House and a suspected one in the Upper House; but a dissolution was to be effected as soon as public business would admit. Lord Derby signified his probable re-imposition of a protective duty on corn, but stated that on that question the opinion of the country was to be taken; therefore an appeal was made in both Houses that for the present they should forbear to introduce party questions.

During this Session, in spite of repeated questions, the Ministry refused to state either when the present Parliament was to be dissolved or their explicit views in regard to Free Trade and the maintenance of the Maynooth Grant.

Parliament was dissolved July 1.

The elections returned 339 Liberals and 319 for the Government; and the new Parliament met November 4.

The Duke of Wellington, who had died September 14, was honoured by a public funeral November 18: Lord Hardinge succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief.

Lord Derby alleged that the effect of Free Trade was injurious, but, as in the elections the country had pronounced in its favour, he was prepared to bow to the decision and carry it out, and he bespoke the patience of the House for a fortnight, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer would bring in his Budget.

On November 23 Mr. Villiers brought forward his motion in favour of Free Trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer laboured to show that his party were consistent, and stated that, though Government were prepared to adopt the principle of Free Trade, yet the practice of requiring a recantation of opinion was to be deprecated. Lord Palmerston introduced an amendment to the motion, which merely alleged that the effects of Free Trade were beneficial, and that it would be maintained. This was carried by a very large majority (468 to 53), and Mr. Villiers's original motion was rejected by 336 to 256.

On December 3 the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his **Budget.**

On December 6 Ministers announced that the Election of the French President, **as Emperor,** had been cordially recognised.

In committee the Budget was much debated upon, and on the 16th **Ministers were defeated** on the House Tax by a majority of 19 (305 to 286), the Liberal party being now closely allied to the Peelites.

In consequence of the above adverse decision the announcement of their **resignation** was made by the Ministers, on the 20th, in both Houses.

EARL OF ABERDEEN'S ADMINISTRATION

1853–1855

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Aberdeen.
2. Lord President of Council	Earl Granville. Lord John Russell; in June 1854 became Lord President, and Lord Granville took the Duchy of Lancaster.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Cranworth.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Argyll.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. W. E. Gladstone.
6. Home Secretary	Viscount Palmerston.
7. Foreign Secretary	Lord John Russell, for five or six weeks only. Earl of Clarendon.
8. Colonial and War Secretary	Duke of Newcastle. In June 1854 these offices were separated: Sir George Grey became Colonial Secretary, and the Duke of Newcastle War Secretary.
9. First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir James Graham.
10. President of Board of Control	Sir Charles Wood.
11. War Secretary	Mr. Sidney Herbert.
12. Commissioner of Parks and Public Buildings	Sir William Molesworth.
13. Without Office	Marquis of Lansdowne.
14. Without Office	Lord John Russell, Leader in the House of Commons.

EARL OF ABERDEEN'S ADMINISTRATION

From—December 27, 1852, *to* February 5, 1855.
Duration—2 years and 40 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Coalition Liberal.
Principal Event—Russian War.
Parliament Dissolved—None.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre.

During the last week of the year 1852 an Administration was formed by Lord Aberdeen, and a Cabinet of fourteen—seven in each House—included the most powerful supporters of Free Trade.

1853.—The House met February 10, and Lord John Russell, the Leader in the Commons, explained the nature of the measures which the Government proposed, closing a long list with a promise of Parliamentary Reform for the next Session.

February 24.—Lord John Russell's motion for a committee of the whole House to consider **the disabilities affecting the Jews** was carried by 234 to 205. The third reading of the Bill was carried, April 15—288 to 230—and was rejected by the Lords on April 29—164 to 115. This year Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, recommenced with extraordinary vigour and ability commercial and financial reform, which had almost been suspended since the retirement of Sir Robert Peel. Consequently the 3 per cent. Consols went up nearly to par. The Income Tax Bill, after long discussions, finally passed on June 6.

May 20.—The Annexation of Pegu was announced.

June 3.—**A new Government of India** Bill was introduced by Sir C. Wood, by which the double Government was to be retained, though modified; *e.g.* the Crown was to appoint six out of the eighteen directors, and the Charter was to be renewed, not for twenty years as before, but only until Parliament shall otherwise provide. The India Civil Service was to be thrown open to public competition. Lord Stanley's amendment, viz., 'To wait for further information,' was, after four nights' debate, negatived by 322 to 140.

The Bill remained long in committee, but after considerable discussion was read a third time and passed, July 29. The Lords' amendments were subsequently agreed to.

A great part of the Session was occupied in discussing **the Eastern or Turkish Question.** On July 1 the Russians had crossed the Pruth.

August 20.—Parliament was prorogued, Lord Palmerston saying he felt confident that the Emperor of Russia would settle the difficulty with Turkey, and of his own accord evacuate the Danubian Principalities, and therefore the prorogation might be made without anxiety. But shortly after the prorogation the Western nations were already drifting into war. On September 27 the **Porte declared war against Russia.**

October 22.—The French and English fleets, at the invitation of Turkey, entered the Bosphorus. November 30, the Turkish fleet at Sinope was destroyed by the Russians. At this time the first Vienna Conference was sitting, and vainly endeavouring to adjust the dispute between Russia and Turkey. A collective note was sent from the four Powers, England, France, Austria, and Prussia, requiring to know on what terms the Porte would negotiate for peace. The reply contained '*Four Points*' as bases of negotiation, viz.:—

1. Promptest possible evacuation of the Principalities.
2. Revision of the treaties.

3. Maintenance of religious privileges to all communities.

4. A definite settlement of the Convention respecting the Holy Places.

On December 15 **Lord Palmerston**, the Home Secretary, resigned. The cause of this act gave rise to much speculation, and excited much discussion out of doors. On the 26th he resumed office.

1854.—Parliament was opened January 31.

Lord John Russell introduced an unseasonable Reform Bill, which the House would not entertain, and in April he readily postponed the consideration of it under plea of the war.

War with Russia was declared March 27. Mr. Gladstone, instead of being able to propose further relief from taxation, was obliged to ask for supplies for the coming campaign. The **Budget** he brought forward on March 6, and the Supplemental Budget on May 8. He deprecated the system of paying for war by loans instead of taxation, and to meet the war expenditure he doubled the income tax, raising it to 14*d.*

Much legislation had to be postponed on account of the war, and the chief debates were on that subject.

An additional Secretary of State was appointed, thereby dividing the War and Colonial Offices, which occasioned a slight readjustment of the Cabinet.

Parliament was prorogued August 12.

September 14.—Allies land in Crimea.—20th, Battle of the Alma.

October 25.—Balaklava.—November 5th, Inkermann.

Parliament met, December 2, in order to take measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war. The fragment of a Session before Christmas was taken up in expressions of dissatisfaction at the condition of the army in the Crimea.

1855.—Immediately on the meeting of Parliament Mr. Roebuck gave notice of his motion 'for a select committee

to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol.' Just before the debate **Lord John Russell suddenly withdrew from the Ministry**, his advice about the readjustment of the War Office not being followed. The debate on **Mr. Roebuck's motion** lasted two nights, it having been accepted by the Government as one of censure on the Ministry in general. It was carried by 308 to 148; and in consequence of this adverse vote the **Ministry resigned** on February 1.

LORD PALMERSTON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

1855–1858

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Palmerston (first time).
2. Lord President of Council	Earl Granville, Leader in the House of Lords.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Cranworth.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Argyll. Earl Harrowby, July 1855.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Gladstone, resigned Feb. 22. Sir G. C. Lewis.
6. Home Secretary	Sir George Grey.
7. Foreign Secretary	Earl of Clarendon.
8. Colonial Secretary	Mr. Sidney Herbert, resigned Feb. 22, 1855. Lord John Russell, resigned July 13. Sir William Molesworth, died Oct. 22, 1855. Mr. Henry Labouchere.
9. War Secretary	Lord Panmure.
10. First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir James Graham, resigned Feb. 22. Sir Charles Wood.
11. President of Board of Control	Sir Charles Wood. Mr. Vernon Smith, from Feb. 22.
12. Commissioner of Works	Sir William Molesworth. Sir Benj. Hall, from July 22, 1855.
13. Postmaster-General	Lord Canning, appointed Gov.-Gen. of India July 1855. Duke of Argyll.
14. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Earl of Harrowby. Mr. M. T. Baines, from Nov. 1855.
15. Without Office	Marquis of Lansdowne.
16. President of Board of Trade	Mr. Bouverie. Lord Stanley of Alderley.

LORD PALMERSTON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

From—February 5, 1855, *to* February 22, 1858.
Duration—3 years and 17 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Liberal.
Principal Events—Russian War, Indian Mutiny.
Parliament Dissolved—March 21, 1857.
Speaker of the House of Commons—
Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre (created, in 1857, Viscount Eversley).
Mr. J. Evelyn Denison.

1855.—On the resignation of the Aberdeen Cabinet Lord Derby had been invited to form a Ministry, but declined. Lord John Russell was also sent for; but eventually Lord Palmerston hastily reconstructed the Aberdeen Cabinet, without Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle, and on Feb. 16 announced the completion of his arrangements. He stated that the principles of the new Government were identical with those of the last; that they would honestly endeavour to prosecute the war with vigour, and, therefore, he expressed a hope that the House would not insist on carrying out its resolution for a Committee of Inquiry (Mr. Roebuck's); he concluded by adverting to Lord John Russell's appointment as Plenipotentiary to the Vienna Congress as a proof that they neglected no means towards securing an honourable peace.

The Committee of Inquiry being insisted upon, the Peelites, **Sir James Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Gladstone, resigned**, and Sir George C. Lewis became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The income tax was raised to 1*s.* 4*d.* in the pound, and a loan of sixteen millions raised.

The Vienna Conference was unsatisfactory. As his policy was not approved of at home, Lord John Russell withdrew, on April 23, from Vienna, and took up his position as Colonial Secretary. The Congress finally terminated, without producing any satisfactory result, June 4.

In May the Opposition, headed by Mr. Disraeli, made a furious attack on the Government, moving a resolution that their language was ambiguous and uncertain. Mr. Gladstone maintained that the object of the war had been attained, that Russia had virtually conceded the four points, and that the further prosecution of the war was unjustifiable. Lord Palmerston replied in a splendid speech, and the Opposition were defeated by a majority of 100.

From this time Lord Palmerston's power in the House and the country was supreme, and his popularity and influence became so great that at last it seemed to have rendered him imperious and dictatorial.

During the remainder of the Session the House was mainly discussing the management of the war and the Government administration, and various abortive attacks were made upon the Ministry: *e.g.* Mr. Layard's motion, which he brought forward in a speech filled with personal vituperation and baseless assertions, was defeated, June 18, by 359 to 46. **Lord John Russell resigned** his post as Colonial Secretary, as his views on the continuance of the war and foreign policy were not in accordance with those of his colleagues, and his conduct of the Vienna Conference was disapproved. The abolition of the newspaper stamp duty was one of the most important domestic Acts passed this Session. On August 7 Lord John animadverted on the policy of the Government. Parliament was prorogued August 14.

September 8.—**The Allies entered Sebastopol.**

October 28.—There were numerous assemblages in Hyde Park, ostensibly to protest against the high price of bread.

The proceedings were riotous and the police had to interfere.

1856.—Parliament opened January 31. In the Royal Speech the intention of opening negotiations for peace at Paris was announced. February 25.—An armistice for five weeks was agreed upon. The **Treaty of Peace** was concluded, and signed at Paris March 30.—In the war the English lost about 24,000 men, of whom 4,000 were killed in action and 20,000 died of disease. The French lost 63,500; and the Russians about 500,000. The war added forty-one millions to the National Debt, and nearly an equal amount had been raised by additional taxation.

May 3 and 6.—Debates on the Treaty of Peace; thanks of the House to the army and navy were moved and agreed to May 8.

In the beginning of the Session a life peerage was granted to Baron Parke; the House of Lords, however, opposed his sitting and voting in the House, and in July he was created a peer in the usual way, as Lord Wensleydale.

The income tax remained at 1*s.* 4*d.*

At the conclusion of the war we were well prepared to continue it: our stores were more abundant, our arms more perfect, and our navy more numerous and better appointed than at the commencement of war. Parliament was prorogued July 29.

In October the army was reduced to a peace footing.

War between England and **Persia**, November to March 1857.

Renewal of hostilities with **China** *in re* the lorcha 'Arrow.'

1857.—Parliament opened February 3.

Vigorous attacks were made by the Opposition upon the Ministry.

February 23.—Mr. Disraeli's resolution on the Budget was negatived by 286 to 206.

February 24.—In the Lords the Earl of Derby proposed

a vote of censure upon the Government for the Chinese war. His resolution was negatived—146 to 110; majority for the Government, 36.

N.B.—This occasion, and the second reading of the Irish Church Bill in 1869, are the only defeats which the Conservatives sustained in party divisions in the House of Peers during a period of twenty years.

Mr. Cobden moved a similar resolution in the House of Commons, which, on March 3, after four nights' debate, was passed—263 to 247; **majority of 16 against the Ministry**. The combined attack on the Ministry was by a coalition of Messrs. Disraeli, Gladstone, Cobden, Bright, and Lord John Russell. On March 5 Lord Palmerston said, in consequence of this adverse vote, an appeal would be made to the country. On the 20th **Parliament was dissolved.** A majority of 85 for the Ministry was the result of the election, the country thereby condemning Lord Palmerston's opponents, some of whom (Cobden, *e.g.*) lost their seats temporarily.

New Parliament was opened May 7. Mr. Evelyn Denison was unanimously elected **Speaker**. The Oaths Bill, which again passed the Commons, was again rejected by the Lords—173 to 139.

News of the outbreak of the **Indian Mutiny** received. Mr. Disraeli moved a resolution condemnatory of the Ministry with reference to India, which was negatived without a division; and Lord John Russell's resolution to support the Government in suppressing the Mutiny was carried unanimously.

July 13.—Sir Colin Campbell was sent out as Commander-in-Chief. 30,000 troops were also sent. Parliament prorogued August 28.

During the autumn there was **a Commercial Crisis.** Several joint-stock banks failed; Bank rate of discount rose to 10 per cent. Under these circumstances Lord Palmerston and the Chancellor of the Exchequer authorised the suspension of the Bank Restriction Act.

Parliament was called together December 3, and an Act of Indemnity passed on December 10. Lord John Russell again obtained leave to introduce an Oaths Bill for the relief of the Jews.

1858.—Parliament met February 4.

Thanks of the two Houses were unanimously voted to Indian officers and men for their conduct during the Mutiny.

On February 18 Lord Palmerston obtained leave (213 to 160), after three nights' debate, to introduce a Bill **for transferring to the Crown the Government of the East Indies.**

On January 14 had occurred the Orsini conspiracy to murder the French Emperor, and Lord Palmerston, at the request of the Emperor, introduced his **Conspiracy to Murder Bill**, the unpopular character of which enabled last year's coalition to renew their attack with success, defeating the Government by 19 on February 19—215 for the second reading, 234 against it.

On February 22 the Ministry announced **their resignation** in consequence of the above adverse vote.

The reason that Lord Palmerston's Ministry was defeated was principally a personal one. It was that many resented the dictatorial demeanour which he had lately adopted, and which seemed to be caused by the intoxication of too long a continuance of success and popularity.

EARL OF DERBY'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

1858–1859

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Derby (second time).
2. Lord President of Council	Marquis of Salisbury.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Chelmsford.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Hardwicke.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Disraeli, Leader in Commons.
6. Home Secretary	Mr. Spencer Walpole, resigned March 1859. Mr. T. Sotheron Estcourt.
7. Foreign Secretary	Earl of Malmesbury.
8. Colonial Secretary	Lord Stanley. Sir E. Bulwer Lytton.
9. War Secretary	General Peel.
10. Secretary for India	Lord Stanley, from August 1858.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir John Pakington.
12. President of Board of Trade	Mr. W. Henley, resigned March 1859. Earl of Donoughmore.
13 President of Board of Works	Lord John Manners.
14. President of Board of Control	Lord Ellenborough, who resigned in May 1858, and was succeeded by Lord Stanley. On the passing of the new Government of India Bill the Board of Control was done away with, and Lord Stanley became the first Secretary of State for India.

EARL OF DERBY'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

From—February 22, 1858, *to* June 11, 1859.
Duration—1 year and 111 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Conservative.
Principal Events—Indian Mutiny, Chinese War, Introduction of Reform Bill.
Parliament Dissolved—April 23, 1859, after the Ministry were defeated on the Reform Bill.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. J. Evelyn Denison.

1858.—March 1.—Statements were made in Parliament in explanation of the intentions and position of the new Ministry. And on the 12th Mr. Disraeli was able to announce that the correspondence with the French Government had been satisfactorily and amicably concluded.

Lord John Russell's **Oaths Bill** was gone on with, and passed through committee, Mr. Newdigate's motion to exclude the Jews being negatived by 297 to 144. The clause by which Jews would be enabled to sit in Parliament was rejected in the Lords on April 27 by 119 to 80; the remainder of the Bill being passed. On May 10 the Commons rejected the Lords' amendments by 263 to 150, and placed Baron Rothschild on the committee to draw up the reasons of disagreement: but the Lords, May 31, insisted upon their amendments. A Bill, however, was sent down from the Lords and passed by the Commons **enabling Jews to sit in Parliament** by a resolution of the House.

On July 26 **Baron Rothschild** was introduced by Lord John Russell, and on his stating his conscientious objections to the use of the words 'on the true faith of a Christian,'

they were omitted from the required oath by a resolution which was carried by 69 to 37, and Baron Rothschild having taken the oath accordingly, took his seat in the House. This was a victory gained by Lord J. Russell after a struggle of eight or nine years.

On April 12, the House going into the question of the **new Government of India Bill**, Lord John Russell proposed (and Mr. Disraeli acceded to the proposal) to proceed at first by way of resolution, rather than by Bill. This was accordingly done, and the Bill founded on the resolutions which had been, after considerable debates, adopted by the House passed through its third reading on July 8; and it passed the Lords without opposition, not having been made a party question. By this Bill the entire powers of government were transferred to the Crown, and instead of the Board of Control, a Secretary of State for India was appointed, with the advice of a paid Council, consisting of fifteen members (of whom eight are appointed by the Crown and seven by the East India Company), who were not allowed to sit in Parliament. In accordance with this Bill Lord Stanley, who had succeeded Lord Ellenborough at the Board of Control, became the first Secretary of State for India. On November 1 the Queen was proclaimed in India, Lord Canning receiving the title of Viceroy.

The old double Government of India had been established by Mr. Pitt in 1784, and had been continued, with alterations in 1793, 1813, 1833, and 1853, up to this time.

During the summer treaties were signed both with China and with Japan.

In November Mr. Gladstone went as Commissioner to the Ionian Isles.

Parliament was prorogued August 2.

1859.—Parliament met February 3.

Mr. Walpole, Home Secretary, introduced a Bill for a settlement of the question of Church Rates; but the second reading was rejected, March 9, by 254 to 171.

From May 3 to July 11 **France and Austria were at war** on the subject of Austrian dominion in Piedmont.

In the early part of the Session Mr. Disraeli injudiciously brought forward a **Bill for Parliamentary Reform.** His measure was objectionable in its details, and the whole matter was repugnant to the House, and not just then called for by the country. His own party were divided bv the measure, and Messrs. Walpole and Henley resigned their seats in the Cabinet in consequence of their dissent. There was to be no lowering of the franchise in the boroughs, but lateral extension in fancy franchises. The county occupier's qualification was to be equalised to the borough qualification. On the second reading Lord John Russell moved an amendment, that the House would not be satisfied with any readjustment of the franchise which did not extend it more than now proposed.

The debate occupied many nights between March 21 and 31, during which Mr. Disraeli made it known that if the Government were defeated an appeal would be made to the country. On the division Government were defeated—330 to 291; Liberal majority, 39. **Parliament was Dissolved** April 23, and the country elected a Liberal majority (estimated at 43).

Previous to their dissolution Parliament had, April 14, passed unanimously votes of thanks to the civil functionaries and the army for the suppression of the Indian Mutiny.

The new Parliament met May 31, and Mr. Evelyn Denison was unanimously re-elected **Speaker.** The Royal Speech was delivered June 7. On the Address the Marquis of Hartington moved an amendment to the effect that the Ministry did not possess the confidence of the House. After two nights' debate the House divided—323 to 310; majority against Government, 13; and on June 17 the **Ministers Resigned.** It is noteworthy that in his able defence of the Government Mr. Disraeli did no more than show how his efforts had been frustrated by the Opposition; he laid claim to

no legislative achievement, for the two important amendments in the laws which had been effected had not originated with the Government—the Government of India Bill being Lord Palmerston's measure, and the Jewish Disabilities Bill being Lord John Russell's.

LORD PALMERSTON'S
SECOND ADMINISTRATION
1859–1866

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Palmerston (second time), died October 18, 1865; succeeded by Earl Russell.
2. Lord President of Council	Earl Granville, Leader in the House of Lords.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Campbell, died June 23, 1861. Lord Westbury, resigned July 4, 1865. Lord Cranworth.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Argyll.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Gladstone, Leader in the House of Commons from October 1865.
6. Home Secretary	Sir George C. Lewis. Sir George Grey, August 1861.
7. Foreign Secretary	Lord John (afterwards Earl) Russell.
8. Colonial Secretary	Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Cardwell, April 8, 1864.
9. War Secretary	Mr. Sidney (afterwards Lord) Herbert, retired 1861, and died in Aug. 1861. Sir Geo. C. Lewis, died April 13, 1863. Earl de Grey and Ripon.
10. Secretary for India	Sir Charles Wood.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty	Duke of Somerset.
12. President of Board of Trade	Mr. T. Milner Gibson. This office was offered to and declined by Mr. Cobden, as he could not agree to the increased war expenditure.
13. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Sir George Grey. Mr. Edward Cardwell, August 1861. Earl Clarendon, April 8, 1864.
14. Postmaster-General	Earl of Elgin, proceeded to China April 1860. Lord Stanley of Alderley in Sept. 1860.
15. Poor-Law Board	Mr. Charles P. Villiers.

On the death of Lord Palmerston, October 18, 1865, no addition was made to the above Cabinet; but EARL RUSSELL BECAME PREMIER for the second time. Lord Clarendon took the Foreign Office, the office of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster remaining vacant. Mr. Gladstone took the lead in the House of Commons.

LORD PALMERSTON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

CARRIED ON AFTER LORD PALMERSTON'S DEATH BY

EARL RUSSELL

From—June 13, 1859, *to* June 27, 1866.
Duration—7 years and 14 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Liberal.
Principal Events—Chinese War, American Civil War, Cotton Famine, Fenian Conspiracy, Death of Lord Palmerston, Introduction of Government Reform Bill.
Parliament Dissolved—July 6, 1865.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. J. Evelyn Denison.

June **1859.**—On the Earl of Derby's resignation the somewhat invidious task devolved upon the Queen of deciding between the pretensions of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Both were in the House of Commons. Both had led the House, and both had been Premiers. In order to avoid the appearance of being swayed by personal feelings, the Queen sent, in the first instance, for Lord Granville, under whose titular Premiership it was thought the other two might act. Lord Palmerston would have consented, but not Lord John Russell; and after considering the disadvantages of this course, Lord Palmerston, whose Premiership was of the more recent date, was sent for.

On June 30 the new Ministry made their opening statement in both Houses.

On July 18 Mr. Gladstone introduced his **Budget.** Owing to the disturbed state of Europe, and the great naval preparations of France, it had been necessary to add enormously

to the naval and military expenditure. To meet this Mr. Gladstone had to raise the income tax from 5*d.* to 9*d.*, by which he expected to gain more than four millions. One of the characteristics of Lord Palmerston's Cabinet was the annual financial statement of Mr. Gladstone—thorough, and though unavoidably intricate, precise and clear, continually warning the House against the growing national extravagance.

Parliament was prorogued August 13.

There was great dissatisfaction throughout the Indian army at their being unceremoniously transferred to the Queen's service, and about 10,000 men in consequence retired.

1860.—Parliament was opened January 24.

The **Commercial Treaty between England and France**, negotiated by Mr. Cobden, was signed on January 23. Mr. Gladstone, in the debate on the subject, paid a high tribute of praise to its main author. Some idea of its success may be formed from the fact that in four years the exports to France rose from nine and a half to twenty-four millions.

On February 10 the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the **Budget.** The income tax was raised to 10*d.* After a debate on this tax the House divided, February 24 —339 to 223; majority of 116 for the Government.

In the beginning of March Lord John Russell introduced the **Government Reform Bill**, which proposed to lower the borough franchise to 6*l.* There were long debates. The second reading was carried on May 3 without a division; but the motion for going into committee was carried by a very small majority. Lord John, therefore, considering the state of public feeling on the matter, and the known indifference of Lord Palmerston, was forced reluctantly to relinquish his zealous labours to improve Parliamentary Representation.

On the Lords rejecting a Bill for the Abolition of the Paper Duty, resolutions were carried in the Commons asserting their sole right to deal with money matters.

Parliament, after an uneventful Session, was prorogued August 28.

August 12.—The second **Chinese War** began. Pekin was invested. The Summer Palace was burnt October 18. On October 24 the Treaty of Tien-Sin was signed.

This autumn the Bourbons were expelled from Naples by Garibaldi.

On November 6 Abraham Lincoln was made President of the United States, and from this time the defection of the Southern States commenced.

1861.—Parliament was opened February 5.

At the beginning of the year the Southern States of America seceded. On February 8 their delegates assembled at Montgomery, and agreed to a Constitution and Provisional Government, of which Jefferson Davis was declared President.

Commencement of the American Civil War. April 19.—Blockade of the Southern Ports proclaimed.

The Session was uneventful, and there were no great party debates. Votes of thanks were passed in both Houses to the army and navy engaged in the Chinese Expedition. The death of Count Cavour, the Italian Prime Minister, called forth expressions of deep regret from all parties.

Parliament was prorogued August 6.

October 31.—A Convention was signed between England, France, and Spain, to combine in an expedition to enforce their respective claims against the Government of Mexico. The United States refused to join.

November 8.—The English mail steamer 'Trent' was boarded by the officers of the United States frigate 'San Jacinto,' and Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Commissioners of the Confederate Government, were taken off. On November 30 orders were sent to Lord Lyons to leave America in seven days unless the United States Government immediately gave them up. Mr. Seward acceded to the demand, and they were given up December 27. But for this

concession war would have certainly broken out between England and the United States.

Death of the Prince Consort, December 14.

1862.—Parliament opened on February 6. The chief point in the Royal Speech was the death of the Prince Consort. The Session was even more uneventful than the last—there were no party debates and no great measures carried.

On May 14 the second reading of the Church Rates Abolition Bill was moved by Sir John Trelawny, but was negatived by 287 to 286. An amendment, declaring it to be unjust to abolish Church rates before some other fund had been provided by Parliament, was carried by 288 to 271.

With reference to the American Civil War, Lord Russell said that our Government held the Blockade of the Southern Ports to be efficient, and had respected it accordingly, and that England had done nothing to aggravate the bitterness of the contest.

Parliament was prorogued August 7.

The International Exhibition at Brompton lasted from May to November.

In July the 'Alabama' was allowed to leave the Mersey under pretence that she was going for a trial trip.

In April the great distress in the Cotton Manufacturing Districts began, in consequence of the Blockade of the Southern Ports in the United States; the distress increased during all this year, and reached its climax about Christmas, when about half a million people were dependent upon charity and parochial funds. During the summer of 1863 the distress was on the wane. At that time about two millions had been contributed to the various relief funds.

1863.—Parliament was opened February 6.

In the Queen's Speech reference was made to the protection of the Ionian Isles being resigned; to the patient endurance shown by the cotton manufacturers under their severe privations; and to the continued maintenance of a

neutral position toward the contending parties in the United States.

On March 27 Mr. Forster called attention to the fitting out of vessels of war for the Confederates in our ports. The Solicitor-General replied that the Government had acted with good faith towards the United States; they were anxious to enforce the law, but must have legal evidence of its infraction.

There were many discussions during the Session relative to our neutral position with regard to America, and to our remonstrances with Russia against her cruelty towards Poland, and with regard to the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty.

On April 13 **Sir G. C. Lewis**, Secretary of State for War, died.

Parliament was prorogued July 28.

During the year the **American Civil War** continued.

The **Polish War** commenced in January, and the Poles vainly appealed for help; though England, France, and Austria remonstrated with Russia.

The Prince of Wales married the Princess Alexandra of Denmark on March 10.

1864.—Parliament opened February 4. In the Queen's Speech reference was made to the war in Denmark, the war in New Zealand, the cession of the Ionian Isles to Greece, and the continued depression of the cotton trade.

April 4.—Mr. Stansfeld, a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, resigned his office in consequence of his friendship with Mazzini, who had been implicated in a plot against the life of the Emperor of the French; he was succeeded by Mr. Childers.

April 18.—Mr. Lowe, Vice-President of the Board of Education, resigned his office in consequence of an adverse vote (101 to 93), passed on April 12, on a resolution referring to the reports of the Inspectors of Schools being garbled and mutilated. On a debate on the subject on May 12 Mr. Lowe's vindication was allowed to have been complete.

July 1 to 8.—There was a great party debate, in the

House of Commons, on Mr. Disraeli's motion condemnatory of the Ministerial policy with reference to *the Danish War*. On the division there was a majority of 18 for the Government (313 to 295). At the same time a division on the same subject in the House of Lords showed a majority of 9 against the Government (177 to 168).

Parliament was prorogued July 29: the Message stating that Her Majesty deeply regretted that they had been unable to bring about a reconciliation between Denmark and Germany, and that the American Civil War continued.

The war of Austria and Prussia against Denmark, January 21 to May 12; then, after an armistice of six weeks, renewal of hostilities, June 26 to August 1. Peace, October 20. During the war England made various vain attempts at a settlement.

In April Garibaldi visited England.

June 1.—The Ionian Isles were finally ceded to Greece.

June 19.—The Confederate cruiser '**Alabama**,' which had been the North American scourge for nearly two years, was sunk, in the English Channel, by the Federal corvette 'Kearsarge.'

From November 12 to November 1865 there was war in India, against the Bhootanese.

1865.—Parliament opened February 7. Reference was made in the Queen's Speech to the continuance of the civil war in America and of the war in New Zealand, and to the proposed confederacy of our North American Colonies.

April 2.—Mr. Cobden died.

April 14.—Murder of President Abraham Lincoln by one Booth in a theatre at Washington. Unanimous addresses, expressive of sorrow and indignation, passed in both Houses on the receipt of the news.

On July 2 attention was called to the case of **Mr. Consul Cameron**, who had been thrown into prison by the King of Abyssinia. Mr. Layard endeavoured to clear himself, and to throw all the blame on the absent.

July 3, a resolution was passed unanimously in the House of Commons with reference to Lord Chancellor Westbury and the Edmunds case, in which the Lord Chancellor had granted a retiring pension to a man against whom a charge of corrupt dealing was pending, and had put his own son into the office. The House of Commons declared that this grant of the pension showed a laxity of practice and want of caution with regard to the public interests on the part of the Lord Chancellor. In consequence of this vote **Lord Westbury resigned** the next day. He was succeeded by Lord Cranworth.

July 6.—**Parliament was dissolved.** General election commenced July 10.

The Civil War in America terminated May 26, on the surrender of the Confederate general, Kirby Smith.

Cattle Plague began June 19; spread rapidly during the autumn and winter.

October 18.—**Lord Palmerston died**, aged 81, after having been almost continuously in office for nearly sixty years. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, October 27. The Cabinet remained almost unchanged, **Earl Russell becoming Premier**, Lord Clarendon taking the Foreign Office, and Mr. Gladstone becoming Leader in the House of Commons.

October 13.—Insurrection of Negroes in Jamaica promptly suppressed by Governor Eyre. A Commission, under Sir H. Storks, sent out to inquire into the disturbances and the measures taken in suppressing them.

Fenian Conspiracy in Ireland. Stephens, the Head-Centre, was arrested, but escaped from gaol.

1866.—The new Parliament opened February 1. Mr. Evelyn Denison was re-elected as **Speaker**. On February 6 the Queen opened the business of the House for the first time since the death of the Prince Consort in 1861, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Cranworth, standing just below her and reading the Speech. Reference was made to the termination of the American Civil War, the late melancholy events

in Jamaica, the Cattle Plague, and the Fenian Conspiracy. The Address was voted in the House of Lords without a division, and by 346 to 25 in the Commons.

March 21.—The **Jamaica Inquiry terminated**. The Commissioners praised Governor Eyre for his vigour in suppressing the rebellion, but considered that the punishments inflicted had been excessive.

Ireland being in a very disturbed state owing to **the Fenian Conspiracy**, the Habeas Corpus was suspended, the Act passing through all its stages, almost unanimously, on February 17.

March 12.—Mr. Gladstone introduced the **Government Reform Bill**, reducing the qualification of the borough occupiers to 7*l.*, even where the landlords compounded for rates, and giving the franchise to lodgers paying 10*l.* a year. The county occupier's qualification was to be reduced to 14*l.* The redistribution of seats was to be brought in in a subsequent measure. The Bill was opposed by the Conservatives and many of the Liberals, both on account of the amount of the reduction and because the redistribution of seats was not included. After a debate which lasted many nights the second reading was carried, April 27, by 318 to 313; but Mr. Gladstone yielded the second point, and brought in his Bill for the Redistribution of Seats on May 7; and on May 28 the House went into Committee on both Bills together. On June 18 Lord Dunkellin moved, as an amendment, that 'rateable value' be substituted for 'clear yearly value,' which, after an animated debate, was **carried against the Government** by 315 to 304. In consequence of this adverse vote notice was given, on June 26, in both Houses of **the Resignation of the Ministry.**

The Parliamentary history of Lord Palmerston's last Government was not brilliant, and the legislation was of an unostentatious, even if of a useful, character.

Among the principal Acts passed may be enumerated:—

The Condensation of the Criminal Law, by Lord Westbury, in 1861.

The Improved System of Parochial Assessments, by Mr. Villiers, in 1862.

The Government Annuities Act, by Mr. Gladstone, in 1864.

The period was one of transition; public opinion was becoming matured by discussion of important topics, but little was actually done. This was partly because public attention was much directed to foreign affairs, chiefly to the American Civil War, and partly on account of Lord Palmerston's known antipathy to domestic change. The advanced Liberals all took great exception to his Government, on account of its large military and naval expenditure and its indifference to Parliamentary Reform, the Ballot, the Abolition of Church Rates, &c.; and in this feeling of dissatisfaction there is little doubt that Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone shared.

The elections of the autumn of 1865 returned a computed majority of 70 members for Lord Palmerston's policy; but as he died in October, he never met the new Parliament.

The change caused by his death, placing Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone at the head of the Cabinet, at once brought on the question of Reform, and before Parliament met Government had collected the necessary electoral statistics; but Mr. Gladstone was unable, at that time, to keep the Liberal party united, and it was the opposition of some of them (who had retired into what Mr. Bright called '*a Political Cave of Adullam*') which led to the defeat of the Ministry.

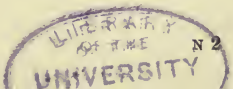
Owing to the change of Ministry Mr. Gladstone's Bill for converting twenty-four millions of the public debt into annuities terminable in 1885, and Mr. Chichester Fortescue's Bill relating to the Land Tenure in Ireland, by which the outgoing tenant was to be allowed compensation for unexhausted improvements, were both abandoned.

EARL OF DERBY'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION

ON HIS RETIREMENT IN FEBRUARY 1868

THE MINISTRY WAS CARRIED ON BY

MR. DISRAELI



THE CABINET

—	—	Ministry recast by Mr. Disraeli, Feb. 23, 1868.
1. First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Derby (third time).	Mr. Disraeli.
2. Lord Chancellor .	Lord Chelmsford.	Lord Cairns.
3. Lord Pres. Council .	Duke of Buckingham, became Secretary for Colonies. Duke of Marlborough, March 8, 1867.	Duke of Marlborough.
4. Lord Privy Seal .	Earl of Malmesbury.	Earl of Malmesbury, nominal Leader in the Upper House.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Disraeli, Leader in Commons.	Mr. G. W. Hunt.
6. Home Secretary .	Mr. Spencer Walpole, resigned May 1867, but continued to sit in Cabinet. Mr. Gathorne-Hardy.	Mr. Gathorne-Hardy.
7. Foreign Secretary .	Lord Stanley.	Lord Stanley.
8. Colonial Secretary .	Earl of Carnarvon, resigned. Duke of Buckingham, March 8, 1867.	Duke of Buckingham.
9. War Secretary . .	General Peel, resigned. Sir John Pakington, March 8, 1867.	Sir John Pakington.
10. Secretary for India .	Lord Cranborne, resigned. Sir Stafford Northcote, March 8, 1867.	Sir Stafford Northcote.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir John Pakington, became Secretary for War. Mr. H. T. Corry, March 8, 1867.	Mr. H. T. Corry.
12. Chief Com. of Works	Lord John Manners.	Lord John Manners.
13. President of Board of Trade	Sir Stafford Northcote, became Secretary for India. Duke of Richmond, March 8, 1867.	Duke of Richmond.
14. President of Poor-Law Board	Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, became Home Secretary. Earl of Devon, March 1867.	Earl of Devon.
15. Chan. of the Duchy of Lancaster	Earl of Devon. Colonel W. Patten, from June 1867.	Lord Henry Lennox.

EARL OF DERBY'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION

ON HIS RETIREMENT IN FEBRUARY 1868 THE MINISTRY WAS CARRIED ON BY

MR. DISRAELI

From—June 26, 1866, *to* December 3, 1868.
Duration—2 years and 161 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Conservative.
Principal Events—Abyssinian War, Reform Bill, Debates on the Irish Church.
Parliament Dissolved—November 11, 1868, for the election of the new Reformed Parliament.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. J. Evelyn Denison.

1866.—The Ministry was not constructed till July 9. Lord Derby had in vain tried to get 'the Adullamites' (Mr. Horsman, Mr. Lowe, Earl Grosvenor, Lord Elcho, &c.) to join him. In his opening statement Lord Derby said that the Government would endeavour to maintain friendly relations with all foreign Powers; that he was unpledged to Reform, and therefore he would not introduce a Reform Bill unless he saw a fair prospect of carrying it. For the remainder of the Session there were no party questions raised. Owing to the Fenian conspiracy the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was renewed for another six months, though not without some opposition.

On July 23 a popular meeting in Hyde Park having been forbidden, an immense crowd collected, and, finding the gates shut, tore down the Park railings.

Parliament was prorogued August 10.
The New Atlantic Cable completed.

1867.—During the winter there was great distress in the East of London.

Parliament was opened by the Queen, February 5.

The **Fenian disturbances** increasing, and the conspiracy apparently widening, the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was extended for another year.

Reform demonstrations took place in London. On the subject of **Reform** the Government were vacillating, and acknowledged that they had no definite plan of their own, but were willing to accept whatever the House thought best —in fact, to delegate to the House the chief duty of an Administration, viz., the initiation of measures.

On February 11 Mr. Disraeli informed the House that he would proceed by means of resolutions. On February 25 he explained the Government proposals respecting Reform ('The Ten Minutes Bill'). On February 26 he announced that the Government Reform resolutions would be withdrawn and a Bill introduced, which was done on March 18.

On March 2 **Lord Cranborne, Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel resigned** their seats in the Cabinet, as they were unable to acquiesce in all Mr. Disraeli's quickly changing plans. The Cabinet was accordingly readjusted, and the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough and Mr. Corry joined it.

The whole Session was taken up **in Reform Debates.** In May a large public demonstration being about to take place in Hyde Park, the Government almost produced a riot by forbidding it to take place there—calling out special constables, and then, on the day before, cancelling all their former orders and allowing the meeting to be held in the Park. It consequently passed off quite quietly, as the other meetings in Leeds, &c., had done. **Mr. Walpole resigned** his portfolio as Home Secretary in consequence of

the general dissatisfaction expressed at his vacillation, but he continued to sit in the Cabinet.

The Bill was in committee from April 11 to July 15, and underwent various changes, every point being the subject of debates and divisions. The Government, however, showed themselves willing to yield to pressure upon all points, and to discard all clauses which might prove obnoxious. There was some doubt as to whether the Leader of the House would be able to carry his party with him in his work of concession. But he managed to '*educate*' them in a surprising manner, and on August 15 the Bill received the Royal Assent and became law, but in a form very different from its original design. It emerged from these long debates an ill-arranged, democratic measure—the checks having been, one by one, withdrawn, and the requirements of the most advanced Reformers satisfied by concessions. It was sent forth by its nominal author characterised as 'a leap in the dark' and 'a great experiment,' and recommended by him rather as a politic settlement than as an advantageous change. The Irish and Scotch Reform Bills were postponed.

July 15.—Sir S. Northcote stated that no measures of force were in contemplation against Abyssinia. On the 25th Lord Stanley spoke to the like effect.

August 21.—Parliament was prorogued, the Queen's Speech saying that a peremptory demand for the release of the prisoners in Abyssinia had been sent. Immediately after the prorogation Government went to **war with Abyssinia,** sending their formal letter September 9.

Sir Robert Napier was appointed Commander-in-Chief, with *carte blanche* as to expenses.

November 19.—Parliament opened to vote supplies for the Abyssinian Expedition. The Government proposed that a part of the expense should be borne by the Exchequer of India.

In July the Government gave a State ball at a large expense to the Sultan of Turkey in Europe, and sanctioned

the payment of that ball out of the revenues of India in Asia.

The debates on **the Abyssinian War**, and the Blue Book, showed that the immediate cause of the war was King Theodore's indignation at never receiving a reply to a letter which he addressed to the Queen, and which was mislaid for about two years when Lord Russell was Secretary and Mr. Layard Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

The Fenian disturbances continued, and culminated in an explosion of gunpowder, by which the wall of **Clerkenwell Prison** was blown down and about twelve innocent people were killed and one hundred and twenty were wounded.

1868.—Parliament met again February 13; and shortly after the Government stated that they were prepared with an Irish policy. In a debate in the Lords, February 24, Earl Russell insisted that it was necessary to satisfy Ireland about the Church, which was regarded by the Irish as a badge of conquest. The Duke of Richmond, in reply, said the Government policy was to be promulgated in the House of Commons. But this was for a time postponed, as on February 25 **Lord Derby resigned the Premiership** on account of failing health, and left Mr. Disraeli to recast and carry on the Ministry.

Mr. Disraeli re-formed the Ministry, making but little change, except that he induced Lord Chelmsford to resign the Chancellorship—replacing him by Sir Hugh Cairns—and making Mr. Hunt Chancellor of the Exchequer. Almost the first act he had to perform was to renew the suspension of the Habeas Corpus in Ireland.

In his opening speech he announced that he was going to adopt a 'truly liberal policy,' and that Lord Mayo, the Chief Secretary, would unfold the Government policy proposed for Ireland.

On March 10 Lord Mayo, in announcing the policy for Ireland, admitted the gravity of the crisis, and said that

the Government had no disinclination to the proposal of 'levelling up' the other Churches in Ireland to a position of greater equality with the Established Church; but that they did strongly object to 'levelling down.' After a long debate Mr. Gladstone stated that the Government had entirely failed to realise the greatness of the Irish crisis, and that if any good were to be done by meddling with the Church in Ireland, **it must be by putting an end to its existence as a State Church.** In reply Mr. Disraeli declared that, though the present House was competent to adopt the policy of levelling up, they were not competent to disendow.

From that moment the Liberal party became united under Mr. Gladstone, and ceased to be, what it had not inaptly been characterised, 'a mere rabble.'

On March 23 Mr. Gladstone introduced **his Resolution for Disestablishment.** Lord Stanley on that moved, as an amendment, that though considerable modifications were required, yet the time was inopportune.

Mr. Hardy said that the Government would never surrender the Irish Church.

On April 14 Lord Stanley's amendment was lost by a majority of 61. But Mr. Disraeli took no notice of this defeat; and on May 1 Mr. Gladstone **carried his first resolution** by a majority of 65.

A few days previously some ill-feeling was excited by Lord Derby, who had now no seat in the Cabinet, advising the Ministry to treat with contempt the adverse votes of the Lower House, and not to resign until an appeal had been made to the new constituencies.

Mr. Disraeli, however, proceeded to Osborne, **and tendered his resignation** to the Queen, in consequence of the above adverse votes. On May 4 he stated in the House the result of his interview. He said that Her Majesty had refused to accept his resignation, and had given him authority **to dissolve** Parliament as soon as the public business would permit. The Opposition resented this, alleging that the advice he had given Her Majesty was unconstitutional; and

three nights were occupied in debates abounding in invective and recrimination.

On May 7 Mr. Gladstone passed his two remaining resolutions without division, the Ministry only recording their negative.

On May 12 the Queen gave her assent to the resolutions.

On May 13 Mr. Gladstone introduced his **Suspensory Bill** to prevent for a limited time [until August 1, 1869] new appointments in the Church of Ireland. The Bill passed by a majority of 54, and passed through committee June 5. It was sent up to the Lords, and, after great and animated debates, was rejected by a majority of 95.

Supplementary Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland, the Boundary Bill and Corrupt Practices Bill, were passed, though not in the form introduced by the Government; *e.g.*, in the Scotch Bill the county franchise was to be determined by the rental, and not by the rating value—thus reversing, two years later, the vote that brought the Government into office.

In passing the **Mutiny Act** the usual words, 'for the purpose of maintaining the balance of power in Europe,' were omitted.

The **Abyssinian Expedition** was entirely successful, and the prisoners were rescued. Sir Robert Napier was accordingly *fêted* and raised to the peerage.

Flogging was abolished in the army in time of peace.

In the beginning of the Session Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the abolition of **Compulsory Church Rates** was passed.

Parliament was prorogued July 31.

All the evils attending government by a Ministry possessing a minority in the House of Commons were realised during this Session; viz., fierce personal discussions and recriminations, unchecked by a powerful Ministry; Bills passed in a mangled and inconsistent form; the principles of Parliamentary government violated, and the dignity of both Houses impaired.

In November **Parliament was dissolved.**

The general elections took place between November 16 and December 2. They turned almost entirely on the Irish Church question; or, in other words, may be said to have taken the sense of the country on the simple question, 'Shall Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Gladstone be Premier?' Public excitement ran high throughout the country, and culminated in the election for South-West Lancashire, where Mr. Gladstone was defeated. He had, however, been already returned for Greenwich.

Before the termination of the elections, however, it was manifest that the Liberals would have a majority of over 100 in the House. **Mr. Disraeli accordingly resigned**, and on December 2 he issued his circular to the Conservatives through the Press, stating that he had resigned, finding so large a majority against him; 'though,' he added, 'he would continue to give an uncompromising resistance to the disestablishment of the Irish Church, which, he believed, would be disastrous in its effects and rife with calamity to society and the State.'

MR. GLADSTONE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

1868–1874

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Mr. Gladstone.
2. Lord President of Council	Earl de Grey and Ripon, resigned August 1873. Lord Aberdare, August 1873.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Hatherley, resigned Oct. 15, 1872. Lord Selborne.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Kimberley. Lord Halifax, July 1, 1870.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Lowe. Mr. Gladstone, March 1873.
6. Home Secretary	Mr. Bruce, created Lord Aberdare. Mr. Lowe, August 1873.
7. Foreign Secretary	Earl of Clarendon, died June 27, 1870. Earl Granville, Leader in the House of Lords.
8. Colonial Secretary	Earl Granville, Leader in the House of Lords. Earl of Kimberley, July 1, 1870.
9. War Secretary	Mr. Cardwell.
10. Secretary for India	Duke of Argyll.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty	Mr. Childers. Mr. Goschen, March 1871.
12. President of Board of Trade	Mr. Bright, retired through ill-health December 1870. Mr. Chichester Fortescue, January 1871.
13. President of Poor Law Board	Mr. Goschen. Mr. Stansfeld, January 1871.
14. Postmaster-General	Lord Hartington. In January 1871 he became Chief Secretary for Ireland, still sitting in the Cabinet, but his successor in the Post-Office, Mr. Monsell, did not sit in the Cabinet.
15. Vice-President of Council	Mr. W. E. Forster, entered Cabinet July 1, 1870.
16. Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Dufferin. Mr. Childers, in Aug. 1872, resigned. Mr. Bright, August 1873.

MR. GLADSTONE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

From—December 10, 1868, *to* February 17, 1874.
Duration—5 years and 74 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Liberal.
Principal Events—Disestablishment of the Irish Church, Elementary Education Act, Franco-Prussian War, Settlement of 'Alabama' Claims by Geneva Arbitration, Ballot Act, Supreme Court of Judicature Act.
Parliament Dissolved—January 26, 1874.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. J. E. Denison (created Lord Ossington in 1872); Mr. Brand.

1868.—Owing to the unusual circumstance of the resignation of the late Ministry taking place when Parliament was not sitting (the only other instance being that of Lord Goderich in 1827, but he had never sat in Parliament as Prime Minister), some difficulty and delay were necessarily experienced in the formation of the Cabinet. Sir Roundell Palmer refused the Chancellorship on account of his not agreeing with Mr. Gladstone in his Irish policy. Mr. Bright declined a State Secretaryship, but accepted the Board of Trade. Arrangements were, however, almost complete by December 10; though when Parliament was opened the new Ministry were represented in the House by Mr. Ayrton, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, the new Cabinet Ministers not having seats in the House until their re-election. Mr. John Evelyn Denison was re-elected **Speaker.**

1869.—Parliament met on February 16.
The record of this Session is little else but a history of

the Bill for the **Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church.** Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sullivan, the Attorney-General for Ireland, were generally believed to be the chief framers of the draft Bill.

The passage of the Bill through the House of Commons extended over thirteen weeks, the measure having been introduced by the Prime Minister on March 4. On the 18th of that month the debate on the second reading began, and it was continued until the morning of the 24th, when Mr. Disraeli's amendment for its rejection was negatived by 368 to 250. On April 15 Mr. Gladstone moved 'that the House go into committee on the Bill,' when Mr. Newdigate interposed with an adverse amendment, which, after one night's debate, was rejected by 355 to 229. On the next evening the House commenced the consideration of the Bill in committee, and Mr. Disraeli at once moved the omission of the second clause, dissolving the legislative union between the Established Churches of England and Ireland. The clause was affirmed by 304 to 221. On the 19th Mr. Hardy moved 'that the date of the separation should be 1872 instead of 1871,' but this was negatived by 301 to 194. In all there were twenty-two divisions upon the Bill, and all of them with the same result, 'the tyrant majority' not allowing any of the amendments, but sending the Bill up to the Lords very much in its original form. The average majorities were 112, the highest 146, and the lowest 86, which was on Mr. Disraeli's amendment proposing to alter the date for dealing with private endowments. The Bill was read a third time on the morning of June 1 by a majority of 114.

In the House of Lords the debates were far more animated than in the Lower House, where the vigour of the Opposition was damped by the overwhelming power of the Government. The majority in the House of Lords were certainly opposed to the spirit of the Bill; and yet, after a magnificent debate of many nights, the second reading was carried by a majority of 33—179 to 146.

On the Opposition side the principal speakers were the Bishop of Peterborough—whose fervid eloquence was then for the first time heard in the House—Lords Derby, Cairns, &c.

Many of the peers, such as Lords Salisbury, Devon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., though opposed to the principle of the Bill, yet voted for the second reading, under the belief that to reject it now would be to lose the opportunity of revising it. The principal speakers in favour of the Bill were Lords Russell, Hatherley, the Duke of Argyll, and the Bishop of St. David's. On the whole the debate was worthy of the House and the occasion, and on both sides of the House there was much sincere eloquence. There had been great apprehension of a serious embarrassment in case of a disagreement between the two Houses, but this was dispelled by the result of the division. In committee the Opposition Peers altered the Bill in many material points. The Lords' amendments chiefly were:—

1st. The retention of their seats in the House of Lords by the present Irish bishops.

2nd. The commutation of clerical incomes at fourteen years' purchase.

3rd. The free delivery of parsonages.

4th. The antedating by one hundred years of the private endowments to be retained by the Church, together with the Ulster glebes.

5th. The removal from the preamble of the words stating that the surplus is not to be applied to religious purposes, but to the advantage of the Irish people, and the annulling of the clause devoting the surplus to charitable uses.

These amendments were rejected by the House of Commons, and the Bill was returned to the Lords on July 16.

It seemed doubtful how the differences between the two Houses would end, when unexpectedly Lord Cairns, as a representative of the Conservatives, had a conference with Lord Granville, and a compromise was come to, which was accepted both by the Government and the Opposition,

and the Bill in this form was finally passed on July 23. The highest praise is due to Lord Granville for the able and courteous manner in which he performed his extremely difficult duties in conducting this Bill through a House the majority of whose members were adverse to it. The principal features of the compromise were the entire abandonment by the Opposition of the first and fourth amendments, and the postponement of the fifth to future legislation.

The peaceful settlement of this great question, the most important which for years has occupied the Houses of Parliament, was a great triumph for Mr. Gladstone.

Although this Session was the Session of the Irish Church Bill and little else, yet some measures of considerable importance were carried. A new Bankruptcy Bill was passed; and also **the Endowed Schools Bill**, which has gone far to afford the middle classes a hope that the charitable foundations of former ages may now be turned to practical use.

Government also completed the arrangements which had been entered into last year for the purchase of the Telegraphs; adding, however, a provision for a monopoly.

The University Tests Bill, which was passed by the Commons, was rejected by the Lords.

Parliament was prorogued August 11.

During the recess public attention was much directed to the prevalence of corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections, especially at Beverley and Bridgwater, where the disclosures made at the inquiry were of a surprising nature.

On October 23 **Lord Derby died**, after a severe and most painful illness, borne with exemplary patience; by which event the Conservatives lost a leader whose character, position, and abilities had made him universally respected.

On November 6 the Queen went in State to the City, and publicly opened Blackfriars Bridge and the Holborn Valley Viaduct. The erection of the former of these had cost 350,000*l.*, and that of the latter, with its approaches, upwards of two millions.

In November Mr. Layard went as Minister to Madrid. Mr. Ayrton succeeded him as First Commissioner of Works. Mr. Stansfeld became Financial Secretary to the Treasury; and Mr. W. H. Gladstone was appointed a Junior Lord of the Treasury.

October.—Two of the Episcopal changes demand exceptional notice—Dr. Wilberforce, translated from Oxford to Winchester, and Dr. Temple, head-master of Rugby, raised to the vacant see of Exeter. Bitter opposition to this last appointment was aroused, on account of Dr. Temple having been one of the joint-authors of the famous 'Essays and Reviews.' The English Church Union and Dr. Pusey inveighed against the appointment in language which could not have been stronger had the Bishop-designate been a heretic and an evil liver of the worst description.

During the autumn America formulated her charges against this country in what were called the '**Alabama**' **Claims.**

November 17.—M. de Lesseps's **Suez Canal** was opened by the Empress Eugénie.

1870.—February 8.—Parliament met. The Session of 1870 was mainly devoted to the **Irish Land Bill and the English Education Act.**

The former legalised throughout Ireland tenant right as it had always existed in Ulster, protecting the tenant against eviction so long as he paid his rent, and securing to him the value of his own improvements. The Bill passed through the Commons without much real opposition, and after some of the Lords' amendments were accepted, and some rejected, such as the change in the scale of compensation, the shortening of the alternative lease from thirty-one to twenty-one years, and the clause relating to permissive registration of improvements, it received the Royal Assent on August 1.

The latter Bill, viz. that for **compulsory Elementary Education** in England and Wales, evoked far more bitter controversy. It was introduced in the House by Mr. W. E.

Forster on February 17. It passed its final stages in the House of Commons on July 22, and the House of Lords on the 25th. In the course of the debates Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, resigned owing to his disinclination to vote in favour of the increased grant to denominational schools. The measure was based on the principle of compelling all children between five and twelve years of age to attend their district schools. The denominational schools were to be subjected to examination by a Government inspector, and were upon his report to receive a Government grant according to their efficiency. A conscience clause was attached. Fees were not abolished.

In districts where school accommodation was deficient, or where the inhabitants desired it, a School Board was to be established, with power to erect and manage the schools, levying a rate for the same. These Boards were to be locally elected by the town council in boroughs and in country districts 'by the vestries'; which clause, upon Mr. Hibbert's motion, July 4, was altered to 'by the ratepayers.' And on the motion of Mr. Torrens provision was made that in the Metropolis the School Boards should be elected by the parishioners; and at the instance of Lord F. Cavendish this 'election' was to be by the cumulative vote. The first elections in London under this Act took place in November, and Lord Lawrence was the first chairman of the Board. It was, of course, upon the religious question that the greatest acrimony prevailed, both inside and outside the House. Sir S. Northcote's proposal to reject the Cowper-Temple clause against distinctive denominational catechisms or formularies was rejected by 252 to 95. This system worked well for the next quarter of a century, and a good Christian undenominational education was given in the Board schools which satisfied all parties. Unfortunately, in 1893 and 1894 the fire of religious controversy was rekindled by most injudicious action on the part of the High Church party.

The revision of the **translation of the Bible** was this year commenced under the authority of Convocation.

The **Thames Embankment** from Westminster to Blackfriars was completed and opened on July 12.

On June 27, 1870, the **death of Lord Clarendon** involved certain changes in the Cabinet. Lord Granville went to the Foreign Office, and Lord Kimberley to the Colonial Office; and Lord Halifax and Mr. Forster were taken into the Cabinet, the former as Lord Privy Seal, the latter retaining his position as Vice-President of the Council. On July 5 Lord Granville entered on his duties at the Foreign Office, and was informed by Mr. Hammond, the experienced Permanent Under-Secretary, that he had never known so great a lull in foreign affairs. Before the month was out **France and Germany were at war.**

The original ostensible cause of the war was the offer of the Spanish throne to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, which offer was at first sanctioned by King William of Prussia, but was resented by France. It was chiefly upon the English Government's strong and reiterated protestations that Prince Leopold's candidature was withdrawn; but though the original cause of offence was removed, the war fever was so high in both countries that it seemed impossible to restrain it. The first decisive act of the war took place on July 22, when the Prussians blew up the Kehl bridge; after which battles succeeded one another with startling rapidity, until on September 2, at Sedan, the Emperor Napoleon surrendered to the King of Prussia with 4,000 officers and upwards of 80,000 fighting men. The Prussians, however, would listen to no overtures, but pushed on their advantages remorselessly, partially destroying Strasburg, burning down the village of Bazeilles, the inhabitants perishing miserably therein, and afterwards refusing to allow a subscription to be got up for the destitute survivors. On October 27 General Bazaine surrendered at Metz, where 150,200 men and 6,000 officers laid down their arms. The Prussians, however, pressed on and invested Paris, with the deliberate intention of starving it, of crushing and annihilating France as far as they could, and of taking not only

full indemnity in money, but also a large slice of territory. It was in vain that Lord Granville addressed to Count Bismarck most earnest expostulations, and tried to bring about arbitration. On September 4, the Emperor having been formally dethroned, a Republic was proclaimed in Paris, with a Government of National Defence under General Trochu. For the rest of the year Paris was closely besieged, and the city was reduced to the verge of starvation.

Parliament was prorogued August 10.

This autumn the Russian Government, taking advantage of two of the great European Powers being engrossed in their own quarrel, openly threw off the obligations of the Treaty of 1856, and declared that Russia would no longer be bound by it, nor suffer her right of sovereignty in the Black Sea to be limited. A conference was, after much diplomatic correspondence, opened in Downing Street on this subject.

1871.—The new year opened disastrously for Paris, which was reduced by the siege to a state of great misery by famine. And on January 5 the Prussians commenced the bombardment, throwing 4,000 shells daily into the city, striking churches and hospitals. Meanwhile, amid scenes of great festivity at Versailles, the King of Prussia took the title of **Emperor of Germany.** After the siege had lasted 131 days Paris surrendered, January 21.

Parliament met on February 7, and was opened by **the Queen** in person, the most important part of **the Speech** being devoted to the disturbed state of the Continent.

The Address was agreed to without a division, though the attitude of the country in foreign affairs was severely commented upon by Mr. Disraeli.

The Treaty of Peace between Germany and France was concluded at Versailles on February 26. The terms were certainly of extraordinary severity to France, but were such as the commanding position of Germany enabled her to enforce, though likely to create a permanent feeling of hatred between the two countries. The main provisions

were the cession of Alsace and Lorraine, and the payment of the war indemnity of 5 milliards of francs (200 millions sterling). Lord Granville in vain sought to mitigate these terms. But perhaps the bitterest clause for the moment was that the victorious army should march through the city. Shortly after the withdrawal of the Prussian troops **Paris** fell into a state of anarchy, and the Communists were until June the predominant party, while murder, rapine, and incendiarism were of daily occurrence. It was not until June that order was restored.

It is not to be wondered at that with events of such vast moment happening near to us our own domestic politics at this time seemed very small. Better regulation of the army and auxiliary forces, Religious Tests in Universities, Ecclesiastical Titles, Disabilities of Trade Combinations, Courts of Appeal, Adjustment of Local Boundaries, Licenses, and Primary Education in Scotland, were subjects of but slight weight when the fate of Paris and of France was in the balance.

There was, however, some excitement when, immediately after the Lords had unadvisedly thrown out the Army Bill abolishing purchase, Mr. Gladstone on July 20 announced that the Government had resolved to advise Her Majesty to take the decisive step of cancelling the Royal Warrant under which purchase was legal, and that that advice had been accepted and acted on. The new warrant declared that on and after November 1 following all regulations authorising the **purchase of commissions** should be cancelled. This high-handed proceeding of the Premier of course gave rise to grave alarm and discontent in many quarters, but, beyond the carrying of an adverse resolution in the Lords by 162 to 82 votes, nothing further was heard of it.

The **Ballot** (or secret voting) Bill, finally passed by the Commons on August 8, was rejected two days afterwards by the Lords by 97 to 48 votes, mainly on the ground of the late period at which it was sent up to the House.

Parliament was prorogued on August 21.

No record of this year can omit to mention the great

Tichborne Case, which commenced in May before the Lord Chief Justice. It occupied the courts of Westminster in one way or another three years. A butcher named Arthur Orton, of Australia, claimed by an elaborate system of perjury to be Sir Roger Tichborne, and as such entitled to the Tichborne estates; but it was not till February 28, 1874, that he was convicted and sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude. The civil case suddenly terminated on the 103rd day (March 4, 1872) by the jury stating that they did not require further evidence. The Claimant was accordingly nonsuited, and was at once ordered into custody, to be prosecuted by Government for perjury. The criminal trial lasted 188 days, the jury at once finding him guilty on all counts. This extraordinary trial was thus the longest upon record, and for years was an absorbing subject of conversation in all classes of the community.

The close of this year was painfully marked by the serious **illness of the Prince of Wales** from typhoid fever, contracted during a visit to Scarborough. It was on December 13 and 14 that the public anxiety may be said to have reached its climax, all the family having been summoned to his bedside in anticipation of the worst results. But happily before the new year began the dangerous crisis was passed, and the Prince, to the joy of the whole Empire, was convalescent.

1872.—Parliament opened February 6. The prominent points in the **Queen's Speech** were the proposed Public Thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales (which was carried out February 27), and the arbitration then being carried out between the United States and this country relative to the claims of the former for the damages inflicted by the 'Alabama' and other cruisers. The Address was agreed to without a division.

The **Geneva Arbitration,** which was pronounced in September, ended one of the most remarkable incidents in international disputes. The case was briefly as follows: During

the American Civil War, 1861–1865, certain privateers, notably the 'Alabama,' which inflicted great damage upon the United States navy and commerce, had been built, equipped and manned in English dockyards—some of the crew were Naval Reserve men and in receipt of English pay. The strongest point against England was that while the 'Alabama' was building the American Minister had warned our Government of the use to which she was to be put, but the Government had taken no action to stop her. Ever since diplomatic correspondence had gone on between the two countries, but it was not until 1871 that it was decided to refer the dispute to arbitrators sitting at Geneva. The claim of the United States amounted in all to about nine and a half millions sterling, including the expenditure incurred by their Government in pursuit and capture of the cruisers. The result was delayed owing to Lord Granville's objection to certain further indirect claims submitted by the United States being referred to the arbitrators. These were eventually withdrawn, and the award was given in September 1872. The British member, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, issued a supplemental judgment dissenting from the opinions of the general award, but virtually agreeing in the finding, which was that Great Britain should pay three and a quarter millions sterling in final settlement and satisfaction of all claims, including interest. This was actually paid at Washington, September 9, 1873.

The peaceful settlement of this difficulty did much, no doubt, to undermine Mr. Gladstone's popularity with the 'Services' and with the more bellicose part of the nation. But in what light it was regarded by himself may be gathered from his own words years afterwards in Parliament: 'The disposition which led us to become parties to the arbitration on the "Alabama" case are still with us the same as ever. We are not discouraged by the fact that we were amerced, and severely amerced, by the sentence of the international tribunal; and although we may think the sentence was harsh in its extent and unjust in its basis, we regard the fine imposed as dust in

the balance compared with the moral value of the example set when those two great nations of England and America, which are among the most fiery and the most jealous in the world with regard to anything that touches national honour, went in peace and concord before a judicial tribunal to dispose of those painful differences rather than resort to the arbitrament of the sword.'

In February Mr. Denison resigned the **Speakership**, taking his seat in the House of Lords as Lord Ossington, and was succeeded by Mr. Brand.

February 8.—**Lord Mayo**, Governor-General of India, was assassinated by a convict when visiting the Andaman Islands. Lord Northbrook was appointed in March to succeed him.

The Ballot Bill, which was opposed in all its stages through the House, was eventually passed, on May 30, by 274 to 216 votes. The only important alteration which it received before finally passing the House of Lords was that it was limited to eight years, and the scrutiny clause was added, under which the voter can be traced by marking his number on the register. The first election under the new Act was at Pontefract, where Mr. Childers, who had accepted the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, was re-elected after a spirited contest.

Parliament was prorogued August 10.

1873.—January 9.—Napoleon III. died at Chislehurst, aged 65.

Parliament opened February 6. **The Speech** referred to the Mission to Zanzibar, the decision of the German Emperor on the S. Juan difficulty, the Geneva Arbitration, the French Commercial Treaty, and the correspondence between England and Russia respecting the Afghan frontier. The only important home topics touched upon were the establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and a settlement of the question of Irish University Education.

The Address was agreed to without a division.

The Supreme Court of Judicature Act, which constituted one **High Court of Justice,** into which the Courts of Equity and Common Appeal were consolidated, and which also became the Supreme Court of Appeal, was the chief outcome of this Session. Though introduced at once by the Lord Chancellor in February, and though there was no vital objection taken, yet it did not get through all its stages until July.

On the same day (February 13) that the Lord Chancellor was introducing the above measure in the Lords Mr. Gladstone submitted to the Commons his scheme for dealing with **Irish University Education.** The scheme was intended to reconcile the conflicting claims upon a university by both Romanists and Protestants. At first the scheme appeared to be favourably received; but after-consideration showed that it satisfied neither party, and it was assailed on all sides, both inside and outside the House, and on March 11 the Bill was thrown out by three votes—284 to 287.

On March 13 **Mr. Gladstone resigned.** The Queen sent for Mr. Disraeli; but he replied that though he was quite prepared to form an efficient Administration, he could not undertake to conduct the government of the country in the present House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone was accordingly compelled to **resume** office; but it could not be otherwise than with greatly diminished power and authority.

August 5.—Parliament was prorogued.

With the exception of the Supreme Court Act the Session was rightly described as a barren one, the Speech itself reflecting the exhaustion of an expiring Ministry; and it was evident to friends and foes alike that a change was inevitable. Shortly after the prorogation Lord Ripon and Mr. Childers retired from the Ministry and there was a further slight rearrangement of the Cabinet. Mr. Bright returned, and assumed charge of the Duchy of Lancaster. The Prime Minister himself took the additional but familiar work of Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lowe taking the Home Office.

1874.—Though all the country was preparing for a general election, it was a surprise to all when, a few days before Parliament was expected to meet, Mr. Gladstone on January 24 announced in an address to the electors of Greenwich, for which borough he then sat, the **dissolution** of Parliament.

Since the general election in 1868 the Liberal majority of 116 was supposed to have fallen to about 70. By February 16 the result of the elections placed the Government in a hopeless minority:—

	Conservatives.	Liberals.
England and Wales . .	296	193
Scotland	19	41
Ireland	36	68
Total . .	351	302

Mr. Gladstone accordingly on February 17 tendered his **resignation**, following the example of Mr. Disraeli in 1868.

MR. DISRAELI'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

(HE WAS CREATED EARL OF BEACONSFIELD IN 1876)

1874–1880

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury	Mr. Disraeli, created Earl of Beaconsfield August 1876.
2. Lord President of Council	Duke of Richmond, Leader in House of Lords till August 1876.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Cairns.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Malmesbury, resigned July 1876. Earl of Beaconsfield. Duke of Northumberland, Feb. 1878.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir Stafford Northcote, Leader in House of Commons from August 1876.
6. Home Secretary	Mr. Cross.
7. Foreign Secretary	Earl of Derby, resigned April 1878. Marquis of Salisbury.
8. Colonial Secretary	Earl of Carnarvon, resigned Feb. 1878. Mr. Hicks-Beach.
9. War Secretary	Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, created Lord Cranbrook 1878. Colonel F. Stanley, April 1878.
10. Secretary for India	Marquis of Salisbury. Lord Cranbrook, April 1878.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty	Mr. Ward Hunt, died August 1877. Mr. W. H. Smith.
12. Postmaster-General	Lord John Manners.
13. Secretary for Ireland	Mr. Lowther, Feb. 1878.

MR. DISRAELI'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

From—February 21, 1874, *to* April 28, 1880.
Duration—6 years and 67 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Conservative.
Principal Events—Retirement of Mr. Gladstone from the Leadership of the Liberal Party (Lord Hartington succeeding him), Purchase of Suez Canal Shares, Queen proclaimed Empress of India, Bulgarian Atrocities, War between Russia and Turkey, Treaty of Berlin, Afghan War, Zulu War.
Parliament Dissolved—March 24, 1880.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. Brand.

1874.—Mr. Disraeli having been sent for on February 17, was able on the 20th to submit to the Queen his arrangements, which had probably been prepared ever since he had been sent for in the previous March. The Cabinet only included twelve names—six in each House.

On March 5 the new Parliament met, and Mr. Brand was unanimously again elected **Speaker**; but it was not formally opened till the 19th. The **Queen's Speech** referred to the recent marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh with the daughter of the Czar of Russia, the termination of the Ashantee War, and the relief of the famine in Bengal. Future legislation was sketched out as including Bills affecting simpler transfer of land, Scotch judicature, improvement of Master and Servant Act, and licensing. There was no division on the Address.

June 30.—Mr. Butt introduced his motion regarding Home

Rule in Ireland, stating that he wished to get a committee of the House to declare the expediency and justice of restoring to Ireland the right and power of managing all exclusively Irish affairs in an Irish Parliament. This was met by a direct negative on the part of Government, and in bringing the debate to a conclusion Mr. Disraeli delivered one of his most incisive and happy speeches. The motion was thrown out by an overwhelming majority (458 to 61).

A considerable portion of the remainder of the Session was taken up with Church matters, the discussion upon which brought Mr. Gladstone out again from the retirement into which he had gone since his resignation. He spoke against the Bill for the Abolition of Patronage in the Church of Scotland, which would transfer the selection of ministers to the congregations, after compensating the patrons. The second reading, however, was carried by 307 to 109, July 13.

Mr. Gladstone also spoke against Mr. Russell Gurney's Bill for **Regulation of Public Worship**, chiefly on the ground that in any legislation for the Church the heads of the Church and of the State should concur, and he submitted six resolutions, relating largely to the position occupied by the Church to the State on the one hand, and to the people on the other, and by the clergy to both; but these resolutions were afterwards withdrawn.

Subsequently, in the beginning of August, a remarkable conflict arose between the two Houses, between the archbishops and bishops, and even between members of the Cabinet, on the subject of the amendment proposed by the Commons in their Regulation of Public Worship Bill, regarding the appeal to the archbishops, but which had been thrown out by the Lords. Archbishop Tait, the author of the Bill, was violently opposed by the High Church bishops. Lord Salisbury, the Foreign Minister, crossed swords with his own chief, and there was a redoubtable duel over canon law between Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Vernon Harcourt.

Lord Salisbury had spoken of 'the bluster' which

generally prevailed in the House of Commons when the 'bugbear' of the majority were opposed to the Upper House. In the course of the final debate on this subject in the House of Commons the Prime Minister said that the object of the Bill was, abruptly speaking, to put down Ritualism, and that though he regretted the defeat of the amendment, he would not jeopardise the Bill for it. 'Lord Salisbury said: "Let us not be for a moment diverted from the course which we think, as wise and grave men, we ought to follow by any allusion to the spirit of any speech which may have been made in the other House." My noble friend (Lord Salisbury) is not a man who measures his phrases. He is one who is a great master of gibes and flouts and jeers;' and he, Mr. Disraeli, refused on behalf of that majority of the House of Commons to be led into the trap of rejecting the Bill merely because 'respectable men like ourselves are taunted as being a blustering majority, in order to show that we resent the contemptuous phrases of one of my colleagues.' The Bill as sent from the Lords was ultimately accepted without a division.

The extreme High Churchmen and Ritualists looked upon Mr. Gladstone as their champion, and they greatly resented this Bill. It was prophesied that there would in consequence of this Bill be an immense secession, that the Church would be overthrown, and that disestablishment and disruption would take place. Subsequent experience has shown that none of these dire effects have come about, and that, more or less, the law so passed has been allowed to remain inoperative. The other Bill which Mr. Gladstone fruitlessly opposed was the Endowed School Acts Amendment.

Parliament was prorogued on August 7.

1875.—On January 13 **Mr. Gladstone**, in a letter to Lord Granville, stated his resolution of **retiring** from the Leadership of the Liberal party, and spoke of his age (65) and his personal views as to the best method of spending the closing years of his life. The 'Times,' as well as others,

took this retirement to be final; and on March 3 **Lord Hartington**, at the Reform Club, was unanimously selected as Leader of the party in the House of Commons.

Parliament opened March 5. **The Queen's Speech** contained no specially controversial point, and the Address was agreed to without a division.

John Mitchell, who had been convicted of treason-felony in 1848, and who had broken his parole in 1852 and escaped from Tasmania to America, was elected M.P. for Tipperary; but his election was held void, on the ground that a felon cannot sit in the House, and his seat was assigned to Captain Moore, the defeated candidate.

April 16.—Mr. Disraeli moved, though somewhat reluctantly, as he allowed, resolutions that for the future strangers be excluded not at the request of a single member, but by vote of majority, without debate, the Speaker still retaining the power of clearing the House of strangers when he should think necessary.

The point in **the Budget** which caused most discussion was the proposal to establish a new kind of Sinking Fund or the gradual reduction of the National Debt.

July 8.—Arrangements were made for providing an adequate sum for the Prince of Wales's tour in India at the close of the year.

July 22.—There was a scene in the House on the occasion of the Government signifying their intention of withdrawing their **Merchant Shipping Bill**, Mr. Plimsoll being reprimanded for the use of intemperate language, which he had spoken under great excitement. In some way to recognise the strong public sympathy shown towards Mr. Plimsoll for his benevolent enthusiasm a temporary measure was, a few days afterwards, passed through both Houses, giving the Board of Trade power of stopping unseaworthy ships leaving British ports.

In July a **Slave Circular** was issued by the Admiralty, at the instigation, it was alleged, of the Foreign Office, directing that a slave who had escaped on board a man-of-war was

to be surrendered when the vessel should return to the territorial limits of the country whence he is shown to have escaped. This roused such a storm of indignation through the country that the Government wisely bent before it, and revised the circular in October, and eventually withdrew it.

Parliament was prorogued on August 13.

This autumn the Prince of Wales started on his tour through India.

1876. January.—Lord Lytton was appointed Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Northbrook, resigned.

Parliament opened, February 8, by the Queen in person; the most noticeable point in **the Speech** being the purchase of shares in the Suez Canal. For this a vote of four millions was moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and on February 21 was carried by acclamation. There was no division on the Address in reply. On March 9 the Prime Minister carried through the House without a division **the Royal Titles Bill,** by which the Queen assumed the title of Empress of India. In spite of some opposition in the Lords, led by Lord Shaftesbury, the Bill was carried on April 7. A graceful return was made on August 12 by creating Mr. Disraeli Earl of Beaconsfield and Lord Privy Seal.[1]

[1] It seems curious that during the debate on the Titles Bill no one quoted the remarkably apposite parallel from Shakespeare's *King John*:

King John. Here once again we sit, once again crown'd,
And look'd upon, I hope, with cheerful eyes.
Pembroke. This once again, but that your highness pleas'd,
Was once superfluous: you were crown'd before,
And that high royalty was ne'er pluck'd off;
The faiths of men ne'er stainèd with revolt;
Fresh expectation troubled not the land,
With any long'd-for change, or better state.
Salisbury. Therefore, to be possess'd with double pomp,
To guard a title that was rich before,
To gild refinèd gold, to paint the lily,
To throw a perfume on the violet,
To smooth the ice, or add another hue

In April Mr. Dixon's Bill for the Establishment of Compulsory School Boards was rejected by 281 to 160.

There was unusual excitement of public feeling in connection with Eastern affairs, and many meetings were held in the country to express indignation at the **Bulgarian atrocities.** Lord Derby as Foreign Secretary had addressed to the Porte a despatch containing reproofs and demands for redress in terms rarely employed to an independent Government. The Turkish Ministers promised compliance, an effort which cost them nothing, though it appears to have exhausted their powers of action.

1877.—The picturesque effects of the last year culminated at Delhi on New Year's Day, when Lord Lytton proclaimed to the assembled chiefs of India the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress of India. The glare of this extravagant ceremony was sadly blurred by the disastrous famine, which extended with frightful severity over the greater portion of Southern India during the year.

Parliament was opened, February 8, by the Queen in person; allusion was made in **the Speech** to the failure of the Constantinople Conference. In the debate which ensued Lord Beaconsfield spoke for the first time in the House of Lords, in reply to a powerful attack by the Duke of Argyll, who stated that there could be, there ought to be, no peace in Europe until the well-being of the Christian subjects of the Porte had been secured by the united action of the European Powers, and that if 'someone did not seize the helm which the Government had abandoned,' he believed 'that Europe would drift into a bloody and dreadful war.' At the instance of Russia a Protocol was signed on March 31 by

Unto the rainbow, or with taper-light
To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish,
Is wasteful and ridiculous excess.

King John, act iv. scene 2.

the representatives of the European Powers and sent to the Porte, calling attention to the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and reserving to themselves in case that condition was not improved to consider in common as to the means best fitted to secure the well-being of the Christian population and the interests of general peace. The Porte immediately replied to the **Protocol** in an evasive, if not a defiant, manner; and on April 24 **Russia declared war on Turkey**, and that night 50,000 troops had entered Roumanian territory.

April 12.—Transvaal annexed.

On May 7 Mr. Gladstone moved that the House 'found just cause of dissatisfaction and complaint in the conduct of the Porte with regard to the despatch of the Foreign Secretary on the subject of the massacres of the Christians in Bulgaria.' The motion was lost by 223 to 354.

The domestic events of the year were monotonous, and public attention was entirely riveted upon the Russo-Turkish War, which continued through the remainder of the year, culminating on December 10 in the surrender of the Turkish army and the occupation of Plevna by the Russians.

April 24.—Mr. Shaw's motion for a select committee to inquire into the causes of the demand for Irish Home Rule was, after discussion, lost by 67 to 417.

June 29.—Mr. Trevelyan's motion for extending the County Franchise was lost by 220 to 276.

The Government were defeated in the Lords on the Burials Bill.

July 16.—The Government were defeated in the Commons on Mr. Holms' motion *re* the appointment of Mr. Pigott as Controller of the Stationery Office; but the vote of censure was cancelled on the 23rd.

On July 2 a small knot of Irish members, by determined obstruction, prolonged the sitting all through the night on an Army Reserve vote; and on the 25th, on the South African Confederation Bill, the same party, headed by Mr. Parnell,

began a series of manœuvres to obstruct the business of the House. These were continued on July 27 and 31, when the House sat for twenty-six consecutive hours—the longest recorded sitting of the House of Commons. The resolution of the Chancellor of the Exchequer then passed was to the effect that, when a member has been twice declared out of order by the Speaker, a motion may be made that the member be not heard during the remainder of the debate, and that it be put to the vote without further debate, after hearing the member's explanation.

Parliament was prorogued August 14, the Speech chiefly referring to the attitude of neutrality of this country in the Russo-Turkish War, to the famine in South India, and the proclamation of Her Majesty's sovereignty in the Transvaal and South African Confederation. During the recess Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Bright exerted themselves to promote the organisation of the Liberal party.

1878.—Parliament met on January 17, an unusually early date, which gave rise to many disquieting rumours. The **Speech from the Throne** dealt at considerable length with the Eastern Question, and contained the following ominous sentence: 'Should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution. Such measures could not be effectually taken without adequate preparation, and I trust to the liberality of my Parliament to supply the means which may be required for that purpose.' With such a storm signal flying it may readily be understood that all social and domestic policy was entirely overshadowed and subordinated.

Events followed with rapidity. On January 20 the Russians occupied Adrianople, and on the 25th, the Porte having accepted the Russian conditions, peace was concluded.

On the 23rd instructions were sent to Admiral Hornby

to sail at once for the Dardanelles and proceed with the fleet to Constantinople. The order was obeyed so promptly that when, twenty-four hours afterwards, there was sent from the Admiralty a second order to annul the first and to order the fleet to remain in Besika Bay, it only reached the Admiral when abreast of the Dardanelles forts, and he had to return as ordered to Besika Bay.

On the 28th the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for a supplemental **estimate of six millions** towards increasing the armaments of the country, and the debate upon this and upon the menacing attitude of the Government collapsed, owing to the excited feelings of the nation, which extinguished the voice of protest. However, **Lords Carnarvon and Derby retired** from the Cabinet, as they disapproved of the policy of the Government, both in ordering the fleet to the Dardanelles and in taking a supplemental grant.

Lord Salisbury then became Foreign Secretary, Lord Cranbrook (formerly Gathorne-Hardy) Indian Secretary, and Colonel Stanley Secretary for War.

On May 28 Earl Russell died.

The chief provisions of the **Treaty of San Stephano**, which was signed by Russia and Turkey in March, were 'the creation of a new self-governing State of Bulgaria, and an accession of territory in Asia to Russia.'

The actions of the English and Russian Governments at this time somewhat resembled the moves in a game of chess, check answering to check. In spite of the protest from the Porte the English fleet was again advanced through the Dardanelles. Russia replied by directing the entry of a portion of the Russian troops into Constantinople.

The Government sent orders to India for the immediate despatch of 7,000 native troops to Malta. The Russian clever and quiet counter to this theatrical, if unconstitutional, move was the sending of a Russian friendly Embassy to the Court of Shere Ali, the Ameer of Afghanistan. The effect of this was not immediately appreciated by our

Government, so that Russia could well afford to submit to a certain modification of the terms of the San Stephano Treaty by the Congress of the European Plenipotentiaries at Berlin in June. At this Congress England was represented with all *éclat* by the Premier and the Foreign Minister, and it did, indeed, seem that the highest pinnacle of success was attained when Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury were rapturously received back again in London, proclaiming that they had brought back '**peace with honour**,' and showing how, though unknown to the Congress, a convention had privately been previously concluded with the Porte, by which Great Britain became the virtual master of the **island of Cyprus**. It was not to be expected that in such a blaze of triumph the somewhat half-hearted protests of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington would have any weight; the nation seemed carried away with the glory of the transformation scene; and the Session closed on August 16, but not before the House of Commons, without a division, almost without a debate, had willingly passed the supplementary vote of more than two and a half millions 'incurred to prevent war' which was asked for by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The position of the Ministry at that moment was so strong that if Parliament had then and there been dissolved there would have been an enormous and unprecedented Conservative majority, which would have secured their position without doubt for the next seven years.

During the autumn the glamour of the situation began somewhat to abate. Cyprus, the new 'place of arms,' was apparently neither convenient nor healthy; and it was found that the price we had paid for it was an engagement to defend the Sultan's dominions in Asia against Russian attacks. The Porte was, moreover, backward in carrying out its part of the contract, and no promised reforms were carried out by it, in spite of the somewhat too hectoring protest of our ambassador, Sir Henry Layard.

In India the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, in disregard of the objection of the Ameer of Afghanistan that he could not guarantee the safety of a foreigner, forced upon that sovereign a permanent British Mission, and upon that Mission being stopped at the frontier **war against Afghanistan** was immediately declared (November 20), and our army advanced in three columns into the passes.

Parliament was hastily summoned, and was opened on December 6, **the Speech** dealing, of course, almost entirely with Afghan affairs. Strong protests against the justice, necessity, or wisdom of the war were made in the House of Lords by Lord Lawrence, and in the Commons by Messrs. Whitbread, Gladstone, Goschen, and Lord Hartington, who also strongly opposed the Government resolution that the war should be defrayed out of the revenues of India. The Government, however, easily overcame all resistance, and carried their resolution by a majority of 101 in a House of 555 members; 'a scientific frontier' being the Premier's definition of one of the main objects of the war.

December 14.—On the anniversary of the Prince Consort's death, seventeen years ago, the Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, died. This, the first death among the Queen's children, affected the whole nation deeply and painfully, and recalled the sympathetic chord of emotion which, just seven years ago, sounded through the country when the Prince of Wales was at the point of death.

1879.—This year was a marked contrast to its predecessor. Then we were not actually at war, yet the whole attention of the nation was, as has been recorded, concentrated on foreign affairs. In 1879 we were at war in two continents, with varied fortunes, yet public attention was mostly directed to domestic affairs. This was chiefly owing to the great distress and depression of trade in England

at the beginning of the year; and in March a Royal Commission was nominated to inquire into 'the depressed condition of the agricultural interest, and the causes to which it is owing, and how far it can be remedied by legislation.' The restless foreign policy of the Government was strenuously attacked in both Houses of Parliament, but the Government in both were in substantial majorities; in March Lord Lansdowne's motion in the House of Lords against the policy of **the Zulu War**, regretting that Sir Bartle Frere had not been recalled, was rejected by 156 to 95 votes; and on the 31st Sir C. Dilke's similar motion was negatived in the Commons, after three nights' debate, by 306 to 246.

In April Lord Derby formally withdrew from all connection with the Conservative party, both inside and outside Parliament, in consequence of his dissenting from their foreign policy; and in May the Duke of Argyll, in the House of Lords, made his attack upon that policy, telling the Government that 'Time' was their great accuser, and that the progress of events was summing up the case against them.'

On the reassembling of Parliament in February the Premier declared the Afghan War virtually at an end. The Ameer, Shere Ali, had fled at our approach, and had died on the borders of Balkh, and had been succeeded by Yakoob Khan. It was with this Ameer that **the Treaty of Gundamuk** was signed, May 25, fixing the subsidy to the Ameer at 60,000*l.* a year; he was to receive an English envoy at Cabul, and to yield certain valleys ('the scientific frontier'). Consequently Major Cavagnari was left as envoy at Cabul.

At the beginning of the year Sir Bartle Frere, High Commissioner for the Cape, without sufficiently consulting the Home Government, had entered into **the Zulu War**. On January 22 occurred the terrible disaster at Isandlwana, the Zulus all but annihilating the British force in charge of the camp, and capturing the convoy of supplies. The gallant

defence of Rorke's Drift by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead and eighty men of the 24th Regiment was some set-off to this calamity; but it was not until July that the news was received of the victory at Ulundi, and the welcome intelligence came that Sir Garnet Wolseley considered the war as practically over. The most lamentable incident in it had been the death of the young Prince Louis Napoleon, then acting as a volunteer in a reconnoitring party, who were surprised by a party of Zulus. His body was brought to England and interred beside his father at Chislehurst, July 12.

Later on, in September, an equally sad misfortune befell the British Mission at Cabul, where Sir Louis Cavagnari, **the English envoy** who had been forced upon the Ameer by the Treaty of Gundamuk, was **murdered** by some military insurgents. The English again, in spite of Yakoob Khan's piteous accounts of his innocence and powerlessness, invaded Afghanistan, and at the end of the year Lord Roberts, after winning the battle of Charasieb, entered Cabul, and proclaimed **the abdication of Yakoob Khan** and the assumption by the Viceroy of the temporary administration of the country.

The autumn was marked by the animated political campaign carried on through the country. The policy of the Government was attacked by the leaders of the Liberal party in different centres; while at Manchester, on October 18, a strong Conservative demonstration marked the visit of three Cabinet Ministers, viz. Lord Salisbury, Mr. Cross, and Colonel Stanley; and this was equalled by the welcome given in the same place a week later to the Liberal meeting convened by Lord Hartington and Mr. Bright. But the most noticeable episode of the contest was **Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian campaign,** which began in the last week of November, and lasted almost without a break for a fortnight.

1880.—February 5.—The last Session of this Parliament was opened with some State ceremonial by the Queen in

person, but **the Speech** was read by the Lord Chancellor. It alluded, in the first instance, to the Berlin Treaty, then to the Afghan and Zulu Wars, and, expressing deep sympathy with the Irish distress, announced that a grant from the Irish Church funds would be given in alleviation.

The debate upon the Address was protracted by the Irish members, the outcome of which was that, at the instance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a resolution was passed enabling the Speaker to suspend any member who has been named by the Speaker as guilty of wilful obstruction, and ordering that if a member be suspended three times in one Session, his suspension shall continue for a week, and as much longer as the House shall determine.

A Bill introduced by the Home Secretary for consolidating the **London Waterworks** caused a great rise in the value of the shares.

The success of the two bye-elections of Liverpool and Southwark having encouraged the Government to hope that the country would still be in their favour, they were prompted to announce that the Dissolution would take place at Easter, if the Budget was disposed of in time, and the Liberals, being eager for the election, interposed no obstacle to the winding up of the Session. On the same day Lord Beaconsfield, in a letter to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland announcing the dissolution, set forth at some length the main features of the policy of his Government during the last six years. The Session was brought to a close March 24, and **Parliament was dissolved.** On the 31st the first elections for the new Parliament took place, and their results foreshadowed that there would be a great Liberal majority. On April 5 the public interest culminated in the Midlothian election, where Mr. Gladstone polled 1,579 votes against Lord Dalkeith's 1,368; and on April 18 Lord Beaconsfield, anticipating the majority against his Government, tendered his **resignation.**

When the final result was known the composition of the new House of Commons appeared to be

Liberals.	Conservatives.	Irish Home Rulers.
351	237	65

more than reversing the position of parties at the election of 1874.

MR. GLADSTONE'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

1880–1885

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Gladstone, resigned the Exchequer December 1882, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Childers, December 1882.
2. Lord President of the Council	Earl Spencer, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, May 1882. Lord Carlingford.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Selborne.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Duke of Argyll, resigned May 1881. Lord Carlingford. Earl of Rosebery, Feb. 1885, and Chief Commissioner of Works.
5. Home Secretary	Sir W. Vernon Harcourt.
6. Foreign Secretary	Earl Granville.
7. Colonial Secretary	Earl of Kimberley. Earl of Derby, December 1882.
8. War Secretary	Mr. Childers. Lord Hartington, December 1882.
9. Secretary for India	Lord Hartington. Earl of Kimberley, December 1882.
10. First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl of Northbrook.
11. Duchy of Lancaster	Mr. Bright, retired July 1882. Mr. Dodson, December 1882.
12. President of Board of Trade	Mr. Chamberlain.
13. President of Local Government Board	Mr. Dodson. Sir Charles Dilke, December 1882.
14. Chief Secretary for Ireland	Mr. Forster, resigned May 1882. Lord Frederick Cavendish, murdered May 6, 1882. Mr. Trevelyan. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, October 1884. (Not in Cabinet.)
15. Postmaster-General	Mr. Fawcett, not in Cabinet, died November 1884. Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in Cabinet.

MR. GLADSTONE'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

From—April 28, 1880, *to* June 24, 1885.
Duration—5 years and 57 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Liberal.
Principal Events—Parnellite Agitation in Ireland, End of Afghan War, Boer War, Convention after Majuba, Murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, War against Arabi the Egyptian, which leads to the Occupation of Egypt and the Soudan Campaign, Murder of General Gordon at Khartoum, Franchise and Redistribution Bills.
Parliament Dissolved—None.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Brand (retired Feb. 1884, created Viscount Hampden); Mr. A. W. Peel, elected February 26, 1884.

Lord Granville and Lord Hartington, who had been the Leaders of the Liberal party in the two Houses during the late Parliament, were in the first instance sent for by the Queen, but they at once recommended the Queen to entrust the task of forming a Ministry to **Mr. Gladstone**, since there could be no doubt that the Liberal victory was due chiefly to his energy and eloquence, and the voice of the whole country indicated him as the leader. He was accordingly sent for to Windsor on April 23, and on the 28th had formed his Cabinet, and on the 29th the new Parliament was opened by Commission, and Mr. Brand was unanimously re-elected **Speaker.**

Lord Cowper became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Marquis of Ripon left England, May 13, to assume the Governor-Generalship of India.

May 17.—Mr. Goschen was despatched to Constantinople

on a special mission, in room of Sir H. Layard, to impress on the Sultan that the Government is determined to insist, in concert with the Powers, upon the fulfilment of the reforms promised in the Berlin Treaty.

The Royal Address was agreed to (300 to 47 votes) on May 20, after a short debate.

A long discussion arose on the case of **Mr. Bradlaugh**, who had been elected for Northampton, and claimed the right of making an affirmation instead of taking the oath. He was allowed to do so on his own responsibility, but on giving his first vote, on July 2, was immediately afterwards served with a writ which involved a forfeiture of 500*l.*

No great measures were passed during the Session; but the Burials Act, the Employers' Liability Act, and the Ground Game Act were admitted to be useful.

The year was specially marked by the great anxiety caused by the **condition of Ireland**. Famine at first was feared, and there was a lavish expenditure upon relief. A second **Relief of Distress** Act was passed, but a clause known as the Compensation for Disturbance, which passed the Commons by 303 to 237, was rejected by the Lords, on August 3, by 282 to 51. Mr. Parnell continued during the year to agitate, and under the influence of the Land League organised the peasantry in the resistance to paying rent; and there were numerous agrarian outrages. An extraordinary system of intimidation, amounting to social excommunication, was put in force against Captain Boycott, with which police protection seemed utterly powerless to cope. The Government, however, had not renewed the Irish Peace Preservation Act of 1870, Mr. Forster believing that he could appeal more strongly to the goodwill of Ireland by abandoning all extraordinary powers; but at the end of the year an information for seditious conspiracy was applied for by the Crown against Mr. Parnell and thirteen others.

The close of the Session was marked by the fierceness of the Irish attacks upon Mr. Forster, and on August 27 there was a protracted wrangle over the Irish Constabulary and

other votes in the Committee of Supply, the House sitting for twenty-one hours. Parliament was prorogued on September 7.

August 27.—Disastrous defeat of the British forces in Afghanistan, at Maiwand, near Candahar; but four days afterwards General Roberts, after a forced march from Cabul, utterly routed Ayoob Khan's army, and, recapturing the guns taken from us at Maiwand and relieving Candahar, victoriously **ended the Afghan War**.

The year closed with bad news from the Cape, the Boers of the **Transvaal** having risen in revolt, and surprised and destroyed a detachment of British troops.

1881.—Parliament opened January 6.

The Speech announced the ultimate withdrawal from Candahar, the introduction of a Land Bill for Ireland, and extraordinary measures for the repression of outrage in that country, and other measures.

The Address was only carried in the Commons after eleven nights' debate, the avowed object of the Irish obstructionists being to delay the introduction of the Coercion Bill as long as possible. On January 24, in the Irish **state trial of Parnell** and others, the jury being unable to agree were discharged. That same night Mr. Forster introduced his Bill for the protection of persons and property in Ireland, which proposed to grant to the Lord-Lieutenant power to arrest by warrant persons suspected of treasonable intentions. It was not till February 2, after a sitting of forty-one hours, that the Speaker declared a new and exceptional course was demanded, and at once put the first reading of the Bill, which was carried, the Irish obstructionists quitting the House. The next day Mr. Dillon, Mr. Parnell, and thirty-four others were one by one suspended for the remainder of the sitting for contumacious behaviour. During the whole Session the wrangling of the Irish, who did their utmost to obstruct all business, continued; and throughout the whole year Mr. Parnell and the members of the Land League, with their no-rent manifestos and instigated outrages, sought to set all law

at defiance and to nullify all efforts of the Government to carry out a peaceful settlement. In April Mr. Gladstone introduced **the Irish Land Bill**, but it did not get through all its stages till the end of July. During August there were differences, which at one time seemed irreconcilable, between the two Houses on the subject of the amendments, but finally the Lords gave way. **The Duke of Argyll**, disapproving of the Bill, **resigned** his seat in the Cabinet, and was succeeded by Lord Carlingford. The Bradlaugh difficulty was not settled, and on August 3 he was forcibly prevented entering the House. The Session did not close till August 29; but the **Irish discontent** and 'no-rent' agitation went on increasing, and as the time arrived when the Land Act was to come into operation, it appeared as if the tactics of the Land Leaguers would render it inoperative.

This Irish question entirely eclipsed all claims of foreign European affairs upon the attention of Parliament; but the reverses in the colonies of course could not be ignored. The disasters at Laing's Nek (January 26) and **Majuba Hill** (February 27), where Sir G. Colley and all his small body of troops were annihilated by the Boers, were followed by an armistice concluded by Sir Evelyn Wood; and after Sir Frederick Roberts reached the Cape with large reinforcements, the Boers submitted to the **Convention**, in which was granted to the Republican Government full possession of the Transvaal, reserving to the British Crown a suzerainty and control of all foreign relationships. This agreement was announced in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone on April 22.[1]

March 13.—Alexander, the **Czar of Russia**, was brutally assassinated by a bomb in the streets of St. Petersburg, and in July **Mr. Garfield**, the President of the United States, was shot, though he did not die of the wound for two months.

April 19.—**Lord Beaconsfield** died, aged 76. On the 26th he was buried at Hughenden; the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Connaught were among the mourners in the

[1] *Vide* Appendix. B

procession, which included the prominent statesmen of both parties, diplomatists, and many others.

In the beginning of October Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Leeds, had said: 'The question has come to be simply this: Whether law or lawlessness must rule in Ireland?' and he warned the party of disorder that the resources of civilisation were not yet exhausted; and a few days later, amid great enthusiasm, he announced in the Guildhall that the long-delayed blow had fallen, and that **Mr. Parnell** and the other prominent leaders of the agitation were arrested under the Coercion Act, and were lodged in Kilmainham Gaol, and the Land League was declared to be an illegal and criminal association. At the same time the Land Commission was opened by Mr. Justice O'Hagan for the fixing 'a fair rent.'

1882. January 4.—Lord Derby appeared for the first time as a Liberal in the Liverpool Reform Club. Parliament opened February 7. In **the Queen's Speech** the condition of Ireland was spoken of hopefully.

But there can be no question that the state of crime was at that time almost at its worst. Cowardly wounding and maiming, and not infrequent brutal murders of persons for the alleged crimes of paying their rent, or speaking to the police, or for dealing with boycotted persons, by organised gangs of moonlighters were terribly on the increase, and it seemed almost impossible to obtain evidence in these cases, so strong was the spirit of intimidation.

February 21.—**Mr. Bradlaugh** took his seat after going through a form of taking the oath on a small volume taken from his pocket; he was, however, expelled (297 to 80), and a new writ was moved for Northampton; and he was re-elected (March 2).

February 22.—The return for Meath of the convict Michael Davitt was rejected (208 to 20).

The Government now resolved on **a change of tactics in Ireland.** They determined to release Mr. Parnell and the other Irish 'suspects' in Kilmainham and other gaols. The

Chief Secretary, **Mr. Forster**, dissented from this policy **and resigned** office, announcing the same on May 2. **Earl Cowper** also **resigned** the Viceroyalty, and Lord Spencer (a Cabinet Minister) was appointed Viceroy and Lord Frederick Cavendish Chief Secretary. They landed in Ireland on May 6, and that same evening, while walking in Phœnix Park, **Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish were assassinated** by four men, who, setting upon them suddenly, stabbed them, and then drove away in a car. The news fell like a thunderbolt upon Parliament and the whole country. The next day (Sunday) the Irish Parliamentary party issued a manifesto strongly reprobating this horrible deed; and on the Monday Mr. Gladstone in feeling terms moved the adjournment of the House. The Lord-Lieutenant offered a high reward for information which would lead to the conviction of the murderers. Mr. Trevelyan, who was appointed to succeed Lord Frederick Cavendish as Irish Secretary, worked with diligence and vigour to carry out the law during the remainder of the year, which was marked by several murders and other dastardly outrages. Intense indignation was naturally roused throughout England, and the Coercion Act of the previous year having proved a dismal failure, was succeeded by **a Crimes Act** of the utmost rigour, which was carried through the House by overwhelming majorities. Second reading, May 18 (383 to 45).

During the renewed discussion on the Bill the House sat through the Derby Day (May 23); and on the night of June 30 there was an all-night sitting, and twenty-five Irish members were suspended for the sitting for obstructing the passage of the Bill through committee. There was another scene on July 4, when Mr. Gladstone's motion for urgency was carried, Mr. Justin McCarthy and his Irish friends marching out of the House. The Bill passed its third reading July 7.

The matter, however, which proved most injurious to the Ministry was **the bombardment of Alexandria** (July 11),

and the subsequent occupation of Egypt, in consequence of the policy of Arabi Pasha, who had constituted himself head of the National party in Egypt. On this question **Mr. Bright resigned** his position in the Cabinet, and was succeeded by Mr. Dodson.

In August the British troops landed in Egypt and took possession of the Suez Canal.

August 18.—Parliament adjourned till October 24.

September 13.—Arabi's army at Tel-el-Kebir was completely routed by Sir Garnet Wolseley, who advanced to Cairo, when Arabi at once surrendered, and he was after a nominal trial banished (in December) from Egypt for life to Ceylon.

October 24.—Parliament assembled for the Autumn Session. The only business was the passing of the **Procedure Rules**, and until December 1 the debates thereon wearily dragged along. The rules as finally agreed to provided, among other things: That the Speaker may stop the debate at his discretion, or if supported by 200 members, or by 100 in a House of 140, and that no opposed motion shall be taken after 12.30 at night.

December 2.—Parliament was **dissolved**, this having been the longest and probably the most barren Session of the present reign.

1883.—Mr. Gladstone's resignation at the close of last year of the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer resulted in exchange of offices between other members of the Cabinet and the admission thereto of Lord Derby and Sir Charles Dilke.

In January evidence was forthcoming in Dublin, primarily on the disclosures made by a Fenian named Farrell, of the plots which had been made to assassinate Government officials, and details were given of the plans made on various occasions to murder Mr. Forster, which had only failed each time by the merest accident. By February direct **evidence of the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish** and Mr. Burke in May last was obtained, and one of the

basest of the assassins, named Carey, turned informer. Five of the accused were sentenced, of whom four were executed in May. The informer Carey was subsequently shot (August 30) on board ship by one O'Donell, who had tracked him to the Cape.

Parliament opened February 15. **The Queen's Speech** dwelt on the success of the Ministerial policy in Ireland and Egypt, stating that the reorganisation of the Government of Egypt would be carried out in consultation with the Sultan and other European Powers. The measures proposed were chiefly in legal procedure.

There having been a terrific **explosion** in the Government offices in Whitehall on March 15, there was a general feeling that the Explosives Act of 1875 was not stringent enough; consequently the Home Secretary introduced on April 9 a more stringent Bill, which was carried through all its stages in about one and a half hours. It passed through the Lords at once, and the Royal Assent was given to it on the next day (April 10).

May 3.—The Affirmation Bill was rejected by 3 votes (292 to 289).

In July the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that a provisional agreement was come to between the Government and the Suez Canal Company for the construction of a new canal by the side of the existing one. The proposal, however, met with much unfavourable criticism out of doors, and on July 23 Lord Granville announced that the scheme had been abandoned.

July 27 and 28.—The obstruction of the Irish members in the debate on the Irish Constabulary Bill caused an all-night sitting; and there was from the same cause a similarly protracted and disorderly sitting on Saturday night, August 18, when the Irish votes for supply came on for discussion.

Parliament was prorogued on August 25.

The principal Bills passed were the Corrupt Practices, the Agricultural Holdings, the Bankruptcy and Patent Law Bills.

In November the army of Hicks Pasha, despatched by

the Khedive of Egypt to disperse the insurgent force of the Mahdi and to subdue the Soudan, was misled by a treacherous guide and was utterly destroyed by the enemy.

Previous to this the British troops were on the point of being recalled from Egypt, or at least very largely reduced in number. But this calamity naturally caused the countermand of the withdrawal, and the Government advised the Khedive for the present not to attempt the reconquest of the Soudan, but, having relieved the invested posts, to hold the Red Sea coast and the Nile Valley as far as Wady Halfa, and to maintain the defensive. It was intimated that further British troops would not be sent out, nor up to the Soudan.

1884.—The internal interest of this year was the Extension of the Franchise, and the external interest was mainly the state of affairs in Egypt, and these were the two main topics touched upon in the **Queen's Speech** when Parliament opened on February 5.

In January General Graham was sent out to Suakim to oppose the Mahdi's lieutenant, Osman Digna, whom he defeated on various occasions in February and March. While General Gordon was sent to Khartoum to arrange for the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons from the Soudan. He reached Khartoum on February 18, and found himself opposed by enemies without the city and by traitors within. His request for the assistance of Zebehr Pasha having been refused, he was compelled to act on the defensive, and in the protection of the city displayed the utmost vigour and inexhaustible resource.

At the beginning of the Session the **Bradlaugh** incident was again re-enacted. Mr. Bradlaugh having administered the oath to himself, was excluded from the House. He then resigned his seat, and was re-elected by an increased majority.

February 12.—Censure of the Egyptian policy of the Government was carried in the Lords—181 to 81; and after the debate had been continued in the House of Commons

till February 19, the motion was lost by 311 for the Government against 292; and a second vote of censure on the same subject, led by Mr. Labouchere and Lord Randolph Churchill, was defeated on March 15 by 111 to 94; and the third vote of censure was defeated on May 2 by 303 to 275.

The Address was not agreed to in the Commons until February 22. Sir Henry Brand then retired from the **Speakership**, and was created Viscount Hampden, and was succeeded by Mr. A. W. Peel, younger son of the late Sir Robert Peel.

February 29. — Mr. Gladstone introduced the **new Franchise Bill**. The second reading was carried, April 7, after six nights' debate, by 340 to 210, and the third reading *nem. con.* on June 26; but the Bill was finally rejected on the second reading by the Lords, July 6, by 205 to 146, on the ground, as stated by Lord Cairns, that this House, while prepared to concur in a scheme for the extension of the franchise, would not assent to it without its being made complete by a redistribution scheme. During the summer the conflict between the Houses was the subject of much platform oratory and processional demonstrations throughout the country.

March 28.—Prince Leopold, **Duke of Albany**, died at Cannes.

April 3.—There was another long discussion in the Commons on **Egyptian affairs.** Lord Hartington, in explaining why the Government had not consented to the appointment of Zebehr Pasha, said 'General Gordon had never asked for troops to be sent to him, and when he went out he well understood that he must accomplish his mission with the resources on the spot.'

August 5.—It was announced that the Government had decided to send Lord Northbrook to Egypt as High Commissioner, to inquire into its finances and condition. He was accompanied by Lord Wolseley, who was to examine and report upon the military situation.

Parliament was prorogued August 14, and was reopened

October 23 merely for the further consideration of the Franchise Bill, which was introduced the next day. The Address was agreed to on November 4. The second reading of the Bill was carried on November 6 by 372 to 232. The passing through the House of Lords was effected by a compromise between the leaders of the two parties, who met in Downing Street. The result was that on December 1 Mr. Gladstone introduced **the Redistribution Bill**. It was read a second time without discussion, which was postponed till after the Christmas vacation; and on December 5 the **Franchise Bill** passed unaltered through the Lords, and the threatened conflict between the two Houses was thus averted.

Mr. Courtney, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, **resigned** on account of his differing from that part of the Redistribution Bill which proposed to divide great cities into single-member districts.

By the time Lord Wolseley had reached Cairo, in September, the Government, after some painful suspense, had decided that an expedition for the **relief of General Gordon at Khartoum** must be sent, and that the Nile route, instead of the Suakim-Berber route, must be selected. A vote of credit had been obtained before the close of the August Session for preliminary expenses, and Lord Wolseley immediately set to work with the utmost vigour to push forward most elaborate and costly preparations for a rapid advance up the Nile. At the close of the year scarcely any intelligence could be obtained from Khartoum; and the last report of General Gordon, that the two other Englishmen with him —Colonel Stewart and Mr. Power—had been sent forward by river, but that, their boat being stranded near Berber, they had been massacred by hostile tribes, increased the tension of the public anxiety.

1885.—It was to the Nile that at the beginning of the year all England was looking with feverish excitement. There Lord Wolseley's expedition was straining every nerve to reach Khartoum and rescue General Gordon. Sir Herbert

Stewart, making a gallant dash forward, defeated a large force of the Mahdi's troops at Abu Klea. At Abu Kru, near Gubat, he again fought and conquered, but his small force was weakened and he himself mortally wounded. Sir Charles Wilson, who took command, was met by Gordon's steamers, and reached Khartoum on January 28, only to find it in the hands of the Mahdi **and General Gordon killed.** The news reached England on February 5, causing universal indignation.

January 24.—There were dynamite explosions at the Tower and in the House of Commons.

February 10.—The Cabinet was strengthened by the admission into it of Lord Rosebery as Lord Privy Seal.

Parliament reassembled February 19, when the main subject for discussion was the fiasco in the Soudan. The vote of censure on the Government was carried by 189 to 68 in the Lords, but was lost by 302 to 288 in the Commons.

The **Redistribution Bill**, which had come to be a foregone conclusion, and the intricate details of which were arranged by Sir Charles Dilke, finally passed in June without any opposition.

Considerable difficulties arose between Russia and England over the Penjdeh incident, in connection with the **Afghanistan boundary** question, and war preparations were actively pushed forward in view of an impending rupture with Russia. On April 21 a vote of credit of eleven millions—four and a half for the Soudanese expedition and six and a half for special naval and military preparations—was enthusiastically agreed to; but on May 4 Mr. Gladstone announced that both Russia and England had agreed to refer any difference to the **arbitration** of a friendly State, which was subsequently carried out by the King of Denmark.

On April 30 Mr. Childers introduced his **Budget**, and on June 5 he proposed certain changes in his proposals, remitting one shilling per gallon of the additional duty he had proposed on spirits, and stating that the additional shilling per barrel on beer was to last only for one year.

On June 8 Sir M. Hicks-Beach moved an amendment condemning these increased duties on beer and spirits, which amendment was carried against the Government—264 to 252, 39 Irish Home Rulers voting in the majority.

The next day the House adjourned to June 12, when Mr. Gladstone stated that his **resignation** had been accepted, and that Lord Salisbury had been summoned to Balmoral.

It was generally believed in the House of Commons, on both sides of the House, that the Government had courted this defeat as a way of escape from manifold perplexities. At all events, no strenuous efforts had been made to avert it.

It was an open secret that one of the main embarrassments of the Government was, as usual, an Irish one. Lord Spencer, who was so ably carrying on the Irish Government, felt that increased powers were absolutely necessary for the preservation of order; but the Radical portion of the Cabinet—Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre—were ready to resign rather than to grant this; while Mr. Parnell, whose influence was becoming more widespread throughout three-fourths of Ireland, was not only strongly opposed to any coercive measures, but frankly stated that his party would work only for an Irish Parliament; and this defiance was accompanied by a significant eulogium on the National League, which had been allowed to grow up in the place and with all the powers of the proscribed Land League.

MARQUIS OF SALISBURY'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

1885–1886

THE CABINET

1. Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary	Marquis of Salisbury.
2. President of the Council	Viscount Cranbrook.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Halsbury.
4. Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Harrowby.
5. First Lord of the Treasury	Earl of Iddesleigh.
6. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Leader of the House of Commons.
7. Home Secretary	Sir R. Cross.
8. Colonial Secretary	Sir F. Stanley.
9. War Secretary	Mr. W. H. Smith, in January 1886 Chief Secretary for Ireland. Viscount Cranbrook, January 1886.
10. Secretary for India	Lord R. Churchill.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty	Lord G. Hamilton.
12. President of Board of Trade	Mr. Stanhope.
13. Postmaster-General	Lord J. Manners.
14. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	Earl of Carnarvon, resigned January 1886.
15. Lord Chancellor of Ireland	Lord Ashbourne.
16. Secretary for Scotland	Duke of Richmond.

LORD SALISBURY'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

From—June 24, 1885, *to* February 6, 1886.
Duration—227 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Conservative.
Principal Events—None.
Parliament Dissolved—November 18, 1885.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. A. W. Peel.

Though Mr. Gladstone's resignation had been accepted on June 12, it was not till the 24th that he and his Cabinet were able to deliver up their seals of office, as Lord Salisbury had experienced some difficulty in assuming office while in a minority in the House of Commons unless he received a distinct undertaking from Mr. Gladstone that he would support him in the measures which were necessary before closing the Session. To this Mr. Gladstone had replied, after consultation with his colleagues, that it would be contrary to their public duty to give the specific pledge asked for, but that there was no disposition on their part to embarrass the Government in the necessary business of the country during the remainder of the Session.

Another difficulty was the attitude of Lord Randolph Churchill; for whose sake it was necessary to remove Sir S. Northcote to the Upper House, and to leave the nominal Leadership of the House of Commons in the hands of Sir M. Hicks-Beach.

In accepting the post of Viceroy of Ireland Lord Carnarvon distinctly disavowed a wish to renew the Crimes Act in any form.

On July 6 Parliament reassembled after the re-election

of the new Ministers, and Lord Salisbury stated the policy of the new Government, which would be to take up and complete the policy of the late Government where it had been left off, but, with the exception of the Secretary for Scotland Bill, not to start anything further in the present Parliament.

Lord Spencer's late administration in Ireland was violently attacked in the House of Commons by Mr. Parnell, but was ably defended by members of both the present and the late Cabinet; and the way that the Liberal party as a whole appreciated Lord Spencer's conduct was shown in a marked manner at the enthusiastic banquet given in his honour, July 24, on which occasion Mr. Bright spoke in severe terms of the conduct of the Parnellite party. On August 8 emphatic contradiction was given both by the Ministers and Mr. Parnell to an allegation that there had been any compact between them.

Votes of thanks were unanimously carried in both Houses to the army for its services in Egypt, and Lord Wolseley was made a Viscount.

Parliament was prorogued August 14.

The Liberal leaders employed the recess in vigorously assailing the Government. Mr. Chamberlain especially, calling them the Cabinet of Caretakers, promulgated an extreme Radical programme at Birmingham, Glasgow, Bradford, and other places, putting forward the demand for Disestablishment. Mr. Gladstone then issued his manifesto, in the form of an address to his constituents, September 18. He declared against Disestablishment, and, in reply to Mr. Parnell's demands, he said that 'to maintain the supremacy of the Crown, the unity of the Empire, and all the authority of Parliament necessary for the conservation of that unity is the first duty of every representative of the people. Subject to this governing principle, every grant to portions of the country of enlarged powers for the management of their own affairs is, in my view, not a source of danger, but a means of averting it, and is in the nature of a new guarantee for increased cohesion, happiness, and strength.'

On October 15, speaking at Newport, Mr. John Morley said: 'The present is the most serious crisis in the relations between Ireland and Great Britain since 1829, but I trust Mr. Gladstone will complete his work by giving Ireland a system of government which would meet her highest claims'; and Lord Hartington, in issuing his address, said with regard to Ireland that, while resolved to maintain the Union, he was prepared to support an extension of self-governing powers.

November 4.—The chief feature of Lord Salisbury's address was a protest against Disestablishment, which, he said, was the intention of the mass of the Liberal party; but Mr. Gladstone, in his subsequent Midlothian campaign, expressed himself strongly against Disestablishment in England.

November 18.—Parliament was dissolved.

Mr. Parnell and the Irish Nationalist party asked the Irish voters all to vote against the Liberal candidates. Result of the election was: Liberals, 333: Conservatives, 254; Irish Home Rulers, 86; but twelve members of Mr. Gladstone's Administration, including two of Cabinet rank, viz., Mr. Childers and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and four of Lord Salisbury's colleagues, were left out in the cold.

Rumours were presently rife concerning the intentions of the Liberal party with reference to Ireland; and on December 21 Mr. John Morley, speaking at Newcastle, said that 'before many weeks were over they would see Parliament driven to consider the question of giving Ireland some plan of extended self-government, whether Lord Salisbury undertook the task or shrank from it. It would stir passions, and might destroy a great party, but, whatever the outcome, it was the duty of every Liberal to view it calmly and steadfastly.'

1886.—Parliament met January 12, and Mr. A. W. Peel was unanimously re-elected **Speaker.**

Mr. Bradlaugh took the oath, and the controversy, which had lasted six years, was allowed to drop.

Lord Carnarvon resigned the Viceroyalty of Ireland, and Sir W. Hart-Dyke the Chief Secretaryship; the latter was succeeded by Mr. W. H. Smith.

January 21.—Parliament was opened. In the Royal Speech it was stated that, if necessary, Parliament would be asked to grant further powers to the Executive in Ireland.

January 26.—During the debate upon the Address, on Mr. Jesse Collings's amendment regretting that no measure about allotments for labourers had been announced, the Government were defeated by 331 to 252, Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, and sixteen other Liberals voting in the minority; and on the 28th it was announced in both Houses that the Government had **resigned**; and while some three thousand of the unemployed were making demonstrations through the West-end, saying, 'We will have work or bread,' Mr. Gladstone was summoned to Osborne.

MR. GLADSTONE'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION

1886

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal . .	Mr. Gladstone.
2. President of the Council .	Earl Spencer.
3. Lord Chancellor	Lord Herschell.
4. Chancellor of the Exchequer .	Sir W. Vernon Harcourt.
5. Home Secretary . . .	Mr. Childers.
6. Foreign Secretary . . .	Earl of Rosebery.
7. Colonial Secretary . . .	Lord Granville, Leader in House of Lords.
8. War Secretary . . .	Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.
9. Secretary for India . .	Earl of Kimberley.
10. First Lord of the Admiralty .	Marquis of Ripon.
11. Secretary for Scotland . .	Sir Geo. Trevelyan, resigned. Marquis of Dalhousie, March 1886. Not in Cabinet.
12. Chief Secretary for Ireland .	Mr. John Morley.
13. President of Board of Trade .	Mr. Mundella.
14. President of Local Government Board	Mr. J. Chamberlain, resigned. Mr. Stansfeld, March 1886.

MR. GLADSTONE'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION

From—February 6, 1886, *to* August 3, 1886.
Duration—178 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Liberal.
Principal Events—Introduction of Irish Home Rule Bill, and split up of the Liberal Party.
Parliament Dissolved—June 25, 1886, to appeal to the country on the subject of granting Home Rule to Ireland.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. A. W. Peel.

It was not till February 3 that Mr. Gladstone could announce that he had completed his Cabinet, and on the 6th the seals of office were transferred at Osborne, and the House adjourned that day till the 18th, for the purpose of issuing new writs for the Ministers accepting office. The omission of the names of former colleagues from the list of the new Cabinet was sufficient evidence of the difficulties which caused the delay in its formation. Lords Hartington, Selborne, Derby, Northbrook and Carlingford, Messrs. Goschen, Courtney, and Sir Henry James, had withdrawn themselves from Mr. Gladstone's side, and had caused an awful **rent in the Liberal party**, which, however, was destined to become still wider; and the high character of Mr. John Morley and the forensic skill of Lord Herschell were not sufficient balance for the above losses.

The new Government were unfortunate from the very commencement. Within a few hours after the Home Secretary had taken charge of his office a meeting of the unemployed, whose demonstrations had been loud in the ears of the retiring Home Secretary, broke up from Trafalgar

Square on the afternoon of February 8, and the more violent group, after hearing the incendiary speeches of Messrs. Hyndman, Burns, and Champion, evaded the police and marched through some of the West-end streets, breaking windows and robbing numerous shops. Besides this, the result of a most painful social trial was to cut off from public life one of the most able members of Mr. Gladstone's last Cabinet, viz., **Sir Charles Dilke**; a loss which was specially felt in the Foreign Office. Further, **Mr. W. E. Forster**, who had so courageously worked in the perilous and thankless task of Chief Secretary for Ireland, and who previously, in Mr. Gladstone's first Administration, had carried the gigantic Education Scheme of 1870, died on April 5. But almost more serious than all these misfortunes to the Liberal party and Mr. Gladstone's power was the loss of the support of **Mr. Bright**. His high reputation as a man whose politics were part of his religion, his position as the people's tribune, the acknowledged leader of the newly enfranchised working classes, and his character as a pure, loyal and disinterested politician, gave him a weight of moral influence beyond that of any other contemporary, except Mr. Gladstone himself.

On March 27 the ranks of the seceders were strengthened by **Mr. Chamberlain** and **Sir George Trevelyan**, who resigned their seats in the Cabinet, and were succeeded by Mr. Stansfeld and Lord Dalhousie.

While the Liberal ranks were thus enfeebled Mr. Gladstone, on April 8, moved for leave to introduce his **Bill for the future Government of Ireland**, proposing to establish a legislative body to sit in Dublin for the conduct of Irish business. The greatest excitement and interest prevailed in the House, which was crowded in every corner. Mr. Gladstone detailed his plan in a speech lasting three and a half hours. The debate lasted till the 13th, when the Bill was introduced and read a first time, and the second reading fixed for May 6. The principal speakers against the Bill, except Lord Randolph Churchill, were the Liberal dissentients.

On April 16 Mr. Gladstone introduced his new **Irish Land Purchase Bill.** This measure contemplated the issuing of fifty millions of 3 per cent. stock for the purpose of buying up the estates of those landlords who were willing to sell their land, at a cost of twenty-five years' purchase at the net value of the judicial rent. The scheme was opposed by Mr. Chamberlain, and the second reading was fixed for May 13.

During the Easter recess there were numerous meetings throughout the country for and against the **Home Rule Bill,** those against it being chiefly organised by the dissentient Liberals. Mr. Chamberlain on April 21, at Birmingham, vigorously condemned the Irish Land Purchase scheme; but with regard to the Home Rule Bill, he said that his opposition was conditional, and that his objections to it would disappear if the representatives of Ireland at Westminster were maintained, and he would concede a separate assembly to Ulster. Sir George Trevelyan was of a similar opinion.

During the whole of May the discussion went on about the Home Rule Bill, both inside and outside the House; but on May 27 the complexion of the matter was altered; for, at a meeting of the Liberal party at the Foreign Office, Mr. Gladstone said that with regard to the exclusion of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament, the Government were quite prepared to modify their original Bill, and that if the second reading were passed now, it would be impossible to proceed further with the Bill this Session; so that he proposed then to withdraw the Bill, and to re-introduce it with the necessary amendments in a fresh Session in the autumn. By the beginning of June it was clear that the Government would be defeated on the second reading, since many were averse not only to the principle of separate Home Rule for Ireland, but to the unprecedented character of the proposal to read a Bill with which the Government did not intend to proceed.

The great debate was brought to a close on June 7, when

Mr. Parnell, in supporting the Bill, said that if it were rejected, coercion was the only alternative, in a more severe form than ever.

Sir M. Hicks-Beach, in concluding the case for the Conservatives, contended that the policy of the Government was not that of the Liberal party, but of one man. Mr. Gladstone summed up in a magnificent speech and an earnest appeal on behalf of Ireland; but the result, long foreseen, was a majority of 30 against the Government—313 to 343. This was the largest division upon record. The majority was composed of 250 Conservatives, 93 Liberals; the minority of 230 Liberals and 83 Parnellites.

Mr. Gladstone immediately advised the Queen to dissolve; and it was rumoured that the Queen was at first averse to a second general election within so few months; but she finally consented, on being assured that it would cause less inconvenience than the embittered controversy about Home Rule, and an announcement to this effect was made in both Houses on June 10. But after the Whitsuntide holidays Parliament met for a few days to transact the necessary financial business, and then, on the 25th, the single Session of this Parliament was brought to a close by **the dissolution.**

The country was then called upon to pronounce at once upon the question of whether or not the prayer of Ireland should be granted for the management by herself of the affairs specifically and exclusively her own.

Looked at in the light of subsequent events, it must be confessed that from a Gladstonian point of view this dissolution was a tactical blunder, and that the cause of Home Rule was not advanced thereby, and that it would have been a wiser policy for the Government to have resigned after the division of June 7. From the Unionist point of view, however, the move was distinctly advantageous, because it rendered their position solid and absolutely secure for the next six or seven years, since, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone himself and his own immediate advisers, no one could doubt what under the circumstances would be the verdict of the country.

There was no doubt whatever as to the answer returned, for the nation refused to sanction so vast and unexpected a change, about which sufficient time had not been allowed for inquiry and the familiarisation of the subject.

When the election closed there was a clear majority of 114 against the policy advocated by Mr. Gladstone.

	Conservatives.	Liberal Unionists.	Gladstonian Liberals.	Parnellites.
England .	284	54	126	1
Wales .	4	3	23	—
Scotland .	12	17	43	—
Ireland .	16	2	—	85
Total	316	76	192	86

I.e. 392 Unionists against 278 Home Rulers.

The **resignation of the Ministry** was conveyed to Her Majesty on July 20.

It was thought possible at one time that Lord Hartington would become the Prime Minister of a coalition Unionist Cabinet; but the time for that was not ripe, and he could only give Lord Salisbury an assurance of independent support. And this promise he loyally fulfilled; indeed, from this time there was no ostensible difference between the Tories and the Liberal Unionists. There was a compact that they should never put up rival candidates at any election; and in all elections, whether the candidate was Tory or Liberal Unionist, he was supported by the united force of Tory and Liberal Unionist voters; and the Primrose League worked equally for the candidate under whichever title he was called. And from this time in Parliament and among the electors the two parties were so completely merged that there was nothing to distinguish the one from the other. This has been the invariable outcome of all cleavages of parties in the history of England; whenever a portion becomes separated from its original body, it is sure to be absorbed into the other, though in so doing small particles may gravitate back. There seems no room among English politicians for more than two parties, and the new adherents are only distinguished from

the rest of the party by their deeper and fiercer antagonism to their old colleagues.

It is true that in the new Administration no Liberal Unionists took office except Mr. Goschen, but in the lobbies they were invariably with the Ministerialists, and in all contentious matters they took the hottest part of the encounter.

MARQUIS OF SALISBURY'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

1886–1892

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury .	Marquis of Salisbury. Mr. W. H. Smith, from Jan. 1887, and Leader in House of Commons. Died October 6, 1891. Mr. A. J. Balfour, from Oct. 1891.
2. Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord Halsbury.
3. Lord President of the Council	Viscount Cranbrook.
4. Lord Privy Seal . . .	Earl Cadogan.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer .	Lord Randolph Churchill, Leader in House of Commons, resigned Jan. 1887. Mr. Goschen.
6. Home Secretary . . .	Mr. Matthews.
7. Foreign Secretary . . .	Earl of Iddesleigh, resigned Jan. 1887. Marquis of Salisbury.
8. Colonial Secretary . . .	Mr. Stanhope. Sir H. Holland, from Jan. 1887.
9. Secretary for India . .	Viscount Cross.
10. War Secretary . . .	Mr. W. H. Smith. Mr. Stanhope.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty .	Lord Geo. Hamilton.
12. Lord Chancellor for Ireland .	Lord Ashbourne.
13. Chief Secretary for Ireland .	Sir M. Hicks-Beach, resigned March 1887. Mr. A. J. Balfour. Mr. W. L. Jackson, from Oct. 1891, without seat in Cabinet.
14. President of the Board of Trade	Lord Stanley of Preston, appointed Governor-General of Canada Feb. 1888. Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Feb. 1888.
15. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord John Manners.
16. President of Local Government Board	Mr. Ritchie.

LORD SALISBURY'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

From—August 3, 1886, *to* August 18, 1892.
Duration—6 years and 15 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Conservative.
Principal Events—Lord R. Churchill's Resignation, Jubilee of Queen Victoria, Mr. Goschen's Conversion of the National Debt from 3 per cents. to $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$, London County Council, Parnell Commission, Death of Mr. Bright, Increase of the Navy, Cession of Heligoland.
Parliament Dissolved—June 28, 1892.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. A. W. Peel.

THERE was some little delay in the formation of the new Cabinet, owing to the negotiations between Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington, and it was not till the end of July that the Cabinet was completed. It was exclusively Conservative; but there were marked changes from the Cabinet of last year. Sir M. Hicks-Beach, who had been at the Exchequer, went as Chief Secretary to Ireland. Lord Randolph Churchill became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader in the House of Commons; and Mr. Matthews, who had just distinguished himself by the extraordinary rancour of his attack upon Sir Charles Dilke in the Law Courts, became Home Secretary. This was the first instance of a Roman Catholic holding office as one of the principal Secretaries of State since the Reformation.

Parliament met August 5, and Mr. Peel was re-elected **Speaker**; and on the 19th they reassembled for the transaction of business. Lord Randolph Churchill announced that Sir Redvers Buller was about to be sent to the West of Ireland

with such powers as would enable him to suppress all outrage; and that a Royal Commission would be appointed to inquire into the working of the Land Acts; and that at the beginning of 1887 the Government hoped to bring forward definite proposals on Local Government in Ireland. It was not until September 3 that the debate on the Address was brought to a close.

September 21.—Mr. Parnell's **Tenants' Relief Bill**, providing for the abatement of rents for tenants whose rent was fixed before 1885, if proved unable to pay, and if half had been paid, was rejected by 297 to 202.

September 25.—Parliament was prorogued.

In October the '**Plan of Campaign**' was announced at Woodford, on Lord Clanricarde's estate in Galway, and was detailed in the Nationalist organ, 'United Ireland.'

November 18.—In reply to a deputation from the Metropolitan Board of Works, Lord R. Churchill declined to promise the support of Government to a Bill prolonging for a further period the **Coal and Wine dues** payable within the metropolitan district; and in other of his recess speeches he dealt with finance in a spirit of the most rigid purism. He further alarmed his party with the comprehensive character of his proposed reforms in all departments of the State. He had, it was said, elaborated an extraordinary Budget, democratic in the fullest sense of the term: a free breakfast-table was to be provided for the masses at the cost of taxes put upon the luxuries of the rich, and by an economy enforced upon the spending departments. He declared that the army and navy could do with a million less a year than they had spent in the past, and that that amount could be saved in administration. This view of retrenchment was naturally abhorrent to those responsible for the War Department and Admiralty; and after some hesitation the Premier threw in his weight on their side. The consequence was that before the close of the year **Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation** was announced, since he refused as Chancellor of the Exchequer to be responsible for

raising the money required for the army and navy, though it was understood the estimates did not show any extraordinary increase.

1887.—Lord Salisbury once more turned to Lord Hartington, renewing his self-sacrificing offers, and on January 3 **Mr. Goschen** accepted the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. W. H. Smith becoming First Lord of the Treasury and Leader in the House of Commons; while Lord Salisbury took the Foreign Office, which Lord Iddesleigh resigned. This resignation was immediately followed by his painfully sudden death from heart-disease in the official residence of the Prime Minister.

January 14.—The celebrated Round Table Conference met at the residence of Sir William Harcourt; it was a conference on Irish affairs between some of the Liberal leaders and Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan, but it eventually came to nothing.

January 27.—Parliament opened. In seeking re-election in Liverpool Mr. Goschen was defeated by a narrow majority, but was elected in February for St. George's, Hanover Square. Mr. Parnell's amendment to the Address was, 'that the remedy for the existing crisis in Irish agrarian affairs is not to be found in increased stringency of criminal procedure, but in such a reform of the law and the system of government as will satisfy the needs and secure the confidence of the Irish people'; it was lost by 352 to 246 votes on February 11.

February 17.—The Address was eventually carried, after the closure had been twice applied and several divisions taken.

March 7.—**Sir M. Hicks-Beach resigned** the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland on the score of failing health; he was succeeded by Mr. A. J. Balfour.

March 18.—After prolonged discussion the new **Rules of Procedure** (closing the debate by a bare majority on the motion of any member, if consent of Chair is obtained, and

provided at least 200 are in favour of it), were carried by 262 to 41.

The whole early part of the year was taken up by heated debates upon the **'Crimes Bill'** (Ireland).

The main provisions of it were to give increased powers to the resident magistrates, and to enable the Lord-Lieutenant to declare any district in Ireland as 'proclaimed,' in which case the venue may be changed for a trial of a crime committed therein; and, further, giving the Lord-Lieutenant power to suppress associations and to prohibit meetings.

The ill-feeling between the two parties was intensely aggravated by the articles in the 'Times' newspaper, which constituted itself a most virulent partisan. No doubt much was said and done on both sides which would afterwards be regretted; but the excitement reached fever heat when, on the very day fixed for the division upon the second reading of the Crimes Bill, the 'Times,' obviously with the object of influencing the division, produced in **facsimile a letter** purporting to have been written by **Mr. Parnell** in extenuation of the Phœnix Park murders of May 1882. There could be no doubt that if the letter were genuine—and to this the 'Times' pledged its honour and good faith—Mr. Parnell was undoubtedly a most double-faced villain; but, on the other hand, Mr. Parnell himself, in the most emphatic way, repudiated the letter. He said that he never saw it before he saw it in the 'Times' that morning: 'the subject-matter was preposterous; the phraseology of it was absurd. In every part of it it bore absolute evidence of want of authenticity.' And he of course denied all knowledge of the conspiracy against Mr. Forster and Lord Frederick Cavendish. The attack, however, had told; the second reading was carried by 370 to 269, the announcement of which was greeted with loud Ministerial cheers. It was subsequently read a third time on July 8 (349 to 262), was immediately passed through the House of Lords, and on July 23 eighteen counties were fully proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant, while others were brought partially under the Act.

There was little else done but this and the debates arising out of it, directly and indirectly, and then Parliament was prorogued on September 16.

The **Jubilee of Queen Victoria** was celebrated all over the empire. The ceremony in London on June 21 was brilliant and successful.

In November there were some riots in Trafalgar Square, where meetings had been forbidden; Cunninghame Graham, M.P., and John Burns, a Socialist leader, headed a disorderly crowd, who were dispersed by the police.

1888.—Parliament opened on February 9. **The Queen's Speech** referred to the successful termination of the labours of the Afghan Boundary Commission, to the Suez Canal arrangements; and the attention of the Commons was called to the subjects of Local Government and Imperial Defence.

On the debate on the Address, Mr. Parnell's amendment declaring the **condition of Ireland** to be unsatisfactory was, after some days' debate, defeated by 88 votes.

Mr. W. H. Smith introduced, on behalf of the Government, an amendment of the new Procedure Rules, altering the hours for the sittings, and making the numbers of the majority 100 instead of 200 when it is required to put the closure in force.

March 9.—The Emperor William of Germany, the founder of German unity, died; he was succeeded by his son Frederick, who was married to the Princess Royal of England.

March 9.—Mr. Goschen brought in his scheme for redeeming **the National Debt** of 3 per cent. by converting it into new stock bearing interest of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for fifteen years and afterwards $2\frac{1}{2}$. The plan was eminently successful, for after the few weeks of grace 450 out of the 558 millions had been converted, and the remainder was authorised to be paid off.

Mr. Bradlaugh's Oaths Bill, authorising an affidavit in

place of an oath, was introduced on March 14, and after some opposition, chiefly in the House of Lords, was passed into law before the end of the session.

Mr. Ritchie on March 19 introduced his Bill for establishing **the County Councils**. London was made a county, and the London County Council absorbed the authority of the Metropolitan Board of Works. After considerable debate the third reading was passed on July 27, and after passing the Lords, it received the Royal Assent, August 13; and at the end of the year preparations were made for the first elections of the new London County Council.

April 23.—On the discussion on Mr. Goschen's **Budget** Mr. Gladstone moved an amendment urging that the Death Duties should be so fixed as to equalise the charges upon real and personal property; this was lost by 310 to 217.

June 15.—The Emperor Frederick of Germany died after prolonged suffering borne with heroic patience; the event was publicly mourned both in Germany and England.

June 19.—When the House was in committee the Government suffered a defeat on Mr. Morley's motion on the subject of the appointment of chief constables.

June 22.—In the absence of Mr. Gladstone and the principal leaders of the Opposition a resolution to disestablish the Church in Scotland was defeated by 260 to 208.

June 26.—The vote of censure on the Government for their administration of the Crimes Act in Ireland, moved by Mr. John Morley, was defeated by 378 to 265.

July 7.—The 'Times,' in reply to Mr. Parnell's statement in the House the previous evening, that the famous facsimile letters were forgeries, asserted that it was in possession of full proof of their genuineness, and its readiness to prove this in open court.

The Special Commission Bill was passed through the House by August 8, to inquire into the charges made against Mr. Parnell and others by the 'Times'; though a proposal that before entering upon other matters the authenticity of the letters should be decided on was negatived. Sir James

Hannen and Justices Smith and Day were appointed the Commissioners. The sittings of this Commission commenced on October 22.

August 13.—Parliament was adjourned to November 6.

Towards the close of the year Lord Lansdowne succeeded Lord Dufferin as Governor-General of India.

Every portion of the Continent began from this year to be excited in the scramble for territory in Africa.

When Parliament reopened on November 6 supply was the first business taken; and a Bill was introduced to facilitate the purchase of land in Ireland by authorising an advance of five millions to continue the operations under Lord Ashbourne's Act. Though the Bill contained only a single clause, it was warmly contested by the Opposition in all stages, and it was not finally passed through the House until after the closure had been applied on November 29.

The discussion upon the estimates was very prolonged, and lasted forty-two sittings in committee, so that Parliament was not prorogued till Christmas Eve, the Session thus extending to nearly eight months, omitting the vacation between August and November.

1889.—The chief interest at the beginning of the year throughout the whole country was the inquiry before the Special or **Parnell Commission.** The principal witnesses on behalf of the 'Times' were the Fenian Major Le Caron (*alias* Beach) and Pigott, from whom the forged letters had been purchased. During the cross-examination of the latter he suddenly disappeared, escaping from the country; but not before he had made an unsolicited confession that the letters produced had been all forged by him. Before he could be arrested, however, he committed suicide in a Madrid hotel. The Attorney-General withdrew the letters from the case, and expressed his regret that they should have been published; while the 'Times' made a tardy apogloy, being obliged to acknowledge that the letter printed as an autograph in its columns, for which they said they had absolute proof, and on

the truth of which they had staked their reputation, was a clumsy forgery. It had, however, answered its purpose in influencing the Parliamentary division, March 1897, and creating a strong feeling against Mr. Parnell which could not be eradicated. [The case, however, was not finally settled till February 1890, when it was compromised, the 'Times' paying Mr. Parnell 5,000*l.*]

The **London County Council** started. Their first action was a promise of future success, for they elected Lord Rosebery chairman and Sir John Lubbock vice-chairman.

Parliament met February 21. The measures passed were the Scotch Local Government Act, the Naval Defence measures, the Acts relating to Technical Education, Welsh Intermediate Education, Irish Light Railways, and the Board of Agriculture; but the Session was, on the whole, uneventful.

An amendment on the Address moved by Mr. Morley, denouncing the Irish administration of the Government, was debated at great length, and finally defeated on March 1 by 339 to 260.

In the House of Lords, Lord Carnarvon's 'Black Sheep' Bill, by which it was proposed to prevent unworthy members of the Chamber from recording their votes or taking part in the discussions, was debated, but on the motion for the second reading was shelved.

During the spring Mr. Goschen's scheme for the immediate **increase of the Navy** was discussed. It was proposed in the course of four and a half years to equip and arm seventy vessels, including ten battleships and forty-two cruisers, at a total cost of twenty-one and a half millions. It was objected to by the Radicals, who opposed so great an expenditure on warlike preparations; by the Opposition, backed up by Lord R. Churchill, on grounds of financial insecurity; and by Lord C. Beresford on the grounds of the insufficiency of the programme; but it was carried, and received the Royal Assent at the end of May.

On March 27, at Rochdale, **Mr. John Bright** died.

His commanding eloquence and pure character had exercised for more than half a century a great influence in the political world; by twenty-four years he had outlived Richard Cobden, his famous associate in the abolition of the Corn Laws. He had been associated with Mr. Gladstone in several Cabinets, but had declined to follow him in his Egyptian policy in 1882 and in his advocacy of Home Rule for Ireland in 1886. In both Houses of Parliament high tributes to his memory were paid by all sections of political opinion.

In April considerable excitement was caused in Paris by the sudden disappearance of General Boulanger; he spent the summer in London, and then retired to Jersey. [He committed suicide in 1891 at Brussels.]

In June the Portuguese Government took forcible possession of the **Delagoa Bay Railway**, then in course of construction by Colonel McMurdo, between Lourenço Marques and the Transvaal frontier, on the allegation that the English company were unable to carry out the work. The matter was referred to Swiss arbitrators [who did not give their award until 1900, during the Boer War].

In July the question of a separate provision for the eldest children of the Prince of Wales was raised. The extreme Radicals were opposed to any grant being made. Mr. Gladstone suggested as a compromise that the Prince of Wales should receive an additional 36,000*l.* a year, and should himself arrange for the members of his family. This was accepted by the Government, and finally passed by 355 to 134. The Parnellite party voted with Mr. Gladstone against the Radicals.

On July 25 Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone celebrated their golden wedding.

On August 13 the great **dock labourers' strike** began, and was not ended till September 16. This was followed by other strikes in various other trades.

Parliament was prorogued August 30.

At the end of 1889 news was received of serious

Portuguese aggression by Major Serpa Pinto on British protected territory in Central Africa; the controversy was still pending at the close of the year, and English war-vessels were ordered to Delagoa Bay.

1890.—Early in the year, on an ultimatum being sent to Lisbon calling upon the Portuguese Government immediately to withdraw their forces from the territory of the Shiré River, which was within the sphere of British influence, the Portuguese complied, under protest; but the Foreign Minister, Señor Barros Gomes, had to resign, and there were riots in Lisbon, the British Consulate also being attacked.

On February 3 the action for libel brought by Mr. Parnell against the 'Times' on the subject of the forged letters was compromised by the payment by the 'Times' of 5,000*l.*

In February there was a Conference of representatives of the Australasian colonies to consider a scheme of **Australasian Federation** and federal defence, in consequence of the memorable despatch of Sir Henry Parkes at Melbourne, October 30, 1889. The Conference, in a loyal address to the Queen, adopted the resolution that the time had come for the union of the Australian colonies under one Government. The only point on which any difficulty seemed likely to arise was that of a uniform tariff.

On February 11 Parliament opened. **The Queen's Speech** referred to the Portuguese raid in Africa and its consequences, and the Australasian Federation Conference. The amendments to the Address were not of any special interest, and it was finally voted February 24.

On February 13 the **Report of the Special Commission** appeared. The Commissioners (Sir James Hannen, Sir J. C. Day, and Sir A. L. Smith) found: (1) That the respondent members of Parliament collectively were not members of a conspiracy to establish the independence of Ireland, but that some of them had joined in the Land League organisation with the intention of bringing it about. (2) That

they did conspire by coercion and intimidation to prevent the payment of rents. (3) That the charge of insincerity in denouncing crime was not established, and that the fac-simile letters (published by the 'Times' on April 18, 1887, with a view of influencing the division on the Crimes Bill) were forgeries. The other findings were of secondary importance.

An important debate began upon the reception of this report on March 3, when Mr. Morley, on behalf of Mr. Gladstone, moved 'that the House deems it a duty to record its reprobation of the false charges, based upon calumny and forgery, and while declaring its satisfaction at the exposure of these calumnies, the House expresses its regret for the wrong inflicted.' All the prominent members took part in the debate. Lord Randolph Churchill somewhat unexpectedly severely condemned the Government, both for the appointment of the Commission and for their action in receiving its report. On March 10 Mr. Gladstone's amendment was defeated—339 to 268. After which Mr. Smith's motion that the report be accepted without comment was agreed to.

March 17.—Prince Bismarck resigned all the offices he held and retired into private life.

March 24.—Mr. Balfour introduced his **Irish Land Purchase Bill**, to provide further facilities for land purchase and for the improvement of the poorer and more congested districts. It was opposed by Mr. Parnell, on the ground that it was insufficient for the purpose aimed at. His amendment was supported by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, but was defeated on May 1—348 to 268. The Bill was then read a second time, but in July, in consequence of the congested state of business, it was withdrawn.

April 17.—Mr. Goschen made his **Budget** statement, declaring a surplus of three and a half millions; the Bill was finally passed May 23.

May 2.—Dr. Cameron's resolution advocating the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Scotland was negatived by 256 to 218.

Lord Dunraven's resolution on the report of the Sweating System Committee was debated in the House of Lords, but was not pressed to a division.

Mr. Munro, Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, resigned his office in consequence of difference of opinion between himself and Mr. Matthews, the Home Secretary. He was succeeded by Sir Edward Bradford. The matter was discussed on the police vote. There was, however, considerable discontent among members of the force, which was shortly followed by insubordination among the Grenadier Guards and a strike among the *employés* of the Post-Office.

The island of **Heligoland** was ceded to Germany, August 14. There was an all-night sitting on the Irish Light Railways Bill, which passed through all its stages in the Upper House next day.

August 18.—Parliament was prorogued.

In September Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien, both M.P.'s, when about to start for America to collect funds for the Home Rule struggle, were arrested on a charge of criminal conspiracy in trying to prevent the tenants on the Smith-Barry estate from paying their rents. There were some riotous scenes at Tipperary during the trial.

During the autumn Mr. Balfour made a tour round the western districts of Ireland, in order personally to inquire into and observe the districts affected by failure of the potato crop. The party were everywhere well received.

There was a heated controversy on the subject of Mr. Stanley's expedition in Central Africa, said to be for the relief of Emin Pasha. It was alleged that cruelties were practised on the Africans, and during the march Major Barttelot was assassinated. The matter was never satisfactorily cleared up.

On November 25 Parliament met. The Address in reply to the **Queen's Speech** was limited to a simple expression of thanks, and was agreed to without a division.

That same day there was in Committee-room No. 15 a

meeting of the **Irish party**, when Mr. Parnell, in spite of the shadow of the O'Shea trial, which hung over him, was elected chairman of the party. Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to Mr. John Morley, had expressed his opinion that Mr. Parnell's continuance in the leadership would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland. On the 28th Mr. Parnell retaliated with a manifesto, in which he professed to give a *résumé* of his interview with Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden. The flagrant breach of confidence committed by the publication of these statements was condemned on all sides, and a manifesto was issued by Mr. Gladstone denying the accuracy of Mr. Parnell's statements in almost every particular. A document was also put out by Messrs. Dillon, O'Brien, and O'Connor, calling upon Mr. Parnell in the interests of the Irish party to resign.

The Roman Catholic bishops had also met and resolved that Mr. Parnell was unworthy of the post of leader.

By 45 to 26 the Irish members, at an adjourned conference in Room No. 15, resolved to depose Mr. Parnell, electing Mr. Justin McCarthy as their chief.

This split virtually gave the deathblow to the question of Home Rule for Ireland as a possible party cry for the Liberal party, at least for years to come.

The short Session, which ended December 9, had been able easily to get through their work, owing to the absence of the Irish members, who were busy over their own Parliament in Room No. 15.

1891.—January 22.—The Houses reassembled after the Christmas recess.

The resolution of June 22, 1880, which prevented **Mr. Bradlaugh** from taking the oath or making an affirmation on taking his seat in the House, was on the motion of Mr. Hunter expunged. Mr. Bradlaugh himself, owing to ill-health, was not present, and a few days afterwards he died.

February 4.—Mr. Gladstone moved his Bill for the

removal of the disabilities of Roman Catholics to hold the offices of Lord Chancellor of England and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The Bill was thrown out—256 to 223.

Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien returned to England, and were immediately arrested and sent to Ireland to undergo the six months' imprisonment passed against them in September last in the Tipperary case.

February 12.—The Tithe Rent Recovery Bill was passed —250 to 151.

March 3.—Mr. Stansfeld's resolution advocating the principle of one man one vote was lost—291 to 189.

At the beginning of April news was received of the terrible **disaster at Manipur**, in Assam, where Messrs. Quinton, Grimwood, Cossins, Colonel Skene, and Lieutenant Simpson and others were murdered. Mrs. Grimwood, the young wife of the Resident, looked after the wounded, and bravely guided the fugitives from the Residency in safety. Lieutenant Grant, who was at Tummu, receiving news of the disaster, at once hastened to the relief with about eighty native soldiers, and having advanced with the greatest intrepidity, captured Thobal, near Manipur, and held it against a large force of the enemy. Lieutenant Grant inspired his men with equal heroism by an ever-present example of personal daring and resource. In recognition of his services the Queen gave him the V.C. and advanced him to the rank of major.

March 31.—Death of **Earl Granville**, Foreign Secretary of State in the last Liberal Administration.

Census taken April 5. England and Wales, 29,000,000—increase of 3,000,000 on census of 1881; Scotland, 4,000,000—increase of 297,000; Ireland, 4,700,000—decrease of 468,000; London, 4,200,000—increase of 400,000.

April 23.—Mr. Goschen made his **Budget** statement. Of the surplus of two millions, he proposed to devote one million to free education, and 500,000*l.* to the construction of barracks.

May 11.—A murderous assault was made upon the

Czarewitch of Russia, who was travelling in Japan with Prince George of Greece. A Japanese policeman armed with a sword wounded him once, and was just about to cut him down, when Prince George with his walking-stick felled the assailant.

Mr. Chamberlain presided over an important conference on the subject of a proposed national scheme of **pensions for old age**, held under the auspices of the National Provident League. The following resolution was passed: That the scheme is now ripe for Parliamentary action, and that all legitimate efforts should be made to bring the matter to a successful issue.

May 22.—**The Irish Land Purchase Bill**, the principal Act of the Session, at last passed through committee. It had been under discussion off and on since December 1890. There was to be an Exchequer contribution of 40,000*l.* a year to assist in the purchase; and in the congested districts there was to be special relief by an appropriation of one and a half million, charged on the capital of the Church fund; while a permanent Board of Land Commission was constituted, with power to buy and sell lands, to develop local industries, and assist emigration. The Bill was sent up to the Lords supported by a majority of 129, and after some attempt to introduce amendments, it was finally passed substantially in the form approved by the Commons.

June 5.—A Royal Warrant was issued conferring military rank on the army medical officers.

June 8.—Sir W. Hart-Dyke brought forward the Government scheme for **free education**. The Bill introduced was a simple one, dealing with the question of fees only, leaving the existing system otherwise untouched, interfering in no way with Voluntary school management, with the conscience clause, or with the educational standards, but offering to such schools as chose to accept it a free grant of 10*s.* per head annually, calculated on the average attendance. The grant was limited to children between five and fourteen years of age. After some difficulty with the Upper House,

the Bill was finally passed towards the close of the Session.

A full return of the property and **revenues of the Church of England** was presented to Parliament by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It showed the gross aggregate income of the Church amounted to 5,753,557*l.*, of which 5,469,171*l.* was derived from ancient endowments and 284,386*l.* from private benefactions since 1703.

The report of the Royal Commission to inquire into the want of room for monuments in Westminster Abbey was presented to Parliament, with suggestions as to providing additional space.

In July the select committee of the House of Commons presided over by Sir M. White Ridley, on the **Metropolis Water Supply**, presented their report. The committee considered it desirable (1) that the subject should be fully examined by the newly constituted municipal authority—the London County Council—in the interest of the consumers; (2) that they should have power to promote legislation to constitute themselves the responsible water authority for London; (3) that they should be required to purchase the undertakings of the eight water companies.

July 22.—Mr. Balfour gave a full account of what had been done for the relief of **distress in Ireland**, showing what relief works had been started and how a large supply of seed had been given on the west coast. These relief works were closed at the end of November, the necessity for them being no longer existent.

August 5.—Parliament was prorogued until October 20. **The Queen's Speech** referred chiefly to the relief works started in Ireland to cope with the distress threatened by the serious failure of the potato crop.

August 24.—**Mr. Raikes**, the Postmaster-General, died. He was succeeded by Sir James Fergusson, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to which latter post Mr. J. W. Lowther was appointed.

October 6.—Death of **Mr. W. H. Smith**, First Lord of

the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons. His place was filled by Mr. A. J. Balfour. Mr. W. L. Jackson was made Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir J. E. Gorst Financial Secretary to the Treasury, and Mr. George Curzon Under-Secretary for India; and Mr. Smith was succeeded as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports by Lord Dufferin.

The same day died **Mr. C. S. Parnell**, for many years leader of the Irish Parliamentary party, aged 45.

1892.—The commencement of the year was clouded by the sad death, on January 14, of the **Duke of Clarence**, eldest son of the Prince and Princess of Wales. He died from a severe attack of the prevailing influenza, in the 28th year of his age, shortly after his happy engagement to his cousin, Princess Mary of Teck, had been announced.

February 9.—Parliament met. **The Queen's Speech** had an unambitious programme, as might be expected on the opening of the last Session of the House. The principal measures related to Local Government in Ireland and Small Holdings in England. The Address was soon disposed of, though on Mr. Sexton's Home Rule amendment there was only a majority of 21 for the Government.

Mr. Balfour then brought in his **Local Government Bill**; from the first it was ill received, and had small chance of success. The Bill was intended to be a County and a District Councils Bill in one, and after a stormy debate the second reading was carried by 339 to 247. But this was the last that was heard of the Conservative Local Government Bill for Ireland, for on June 13 Mr. Balfour announced that the Government would not proceed with the Bill.

Just before Easter Mr. Goschen introduced his **Budget**, announcing the small surplus of 224,000*l.*

February 22.—Mr. Chaplin introduced the Government Bill for encouraging the creation of **small agricultural holdings**, providing for the acquisition of land by the county councils, for the purpose of reselling or letting it to the small working occupiers. After some debate, Mr.

Chaplin easily carried the Bill without a division on the second reading, and it was sent up to the Lords, with general approval, before Whitsuntide.

The Clergy Discipline Bill was passed.

Though there was no serious alarm of war during this year upon the Continent, there had been general anxiety throughout Europe; and though under our management the progress of Egypt was remarkable, and South Africa, with its gold and diamond fields, was rapidly developing, yet in Central Africa serious difficulties arose about Uganda, where the British East Africa Company found it impossible with their limited resources properly to manage the territory.

June 28.—Parliament was **dissolved**, and an appeal was made to the country upon the **Irish Home Rule question.** The net result was a majority of 40 for Mr. Gladstone's policy, viz., 355 (including the 81 Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites) against 315, including 47 Liberal Unionists. For this majority Ireland, Scotland, and Wales were mainly responsible, for in England itself there were 268 Unionists against 197 Home Rulers.

Lord Salisbury resolved not to resign without meeting Parliament, and the Session opened August 4.

Mr. Peel was unanimously elected **Speaker.**

Mr. Asquith moved the amendment of 'want of confidence' to the Address. There were three nights' debate, with remarkable speeches from Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Gladstone. The division was taken in the fullest House on record, giving a majority of 40 against the Government (350–310), and Lord Salisbury at once **resigned,** and Mr. Gladstone was, of course, entrusted with the task of forming a new Ministry.

MR. GLADSTONE'S FOURTH ADMINISTRATION

ON HIS RETIREMENT IN MARCH 1894
THE MINISTRY WAS RECAST AND THE ADMINISTRATION
CARRIED ON BY

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY

1892–1894

THE CABINET

—	—	Ministry Recast by the Earl of Rosebery
1. First Lord of the Treasury	Mr. Gladstone.	Earl of Rosebery.
2. Lord Chancellor . .	Lord Herschell.	Lord Herschell.
3. Lord Pres. of Council .	Earl of Kimberley.	(The Premier).
4. Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir W. V. Harcourt.	Sir W. V. Harcourt, Leader of Lower House.
5. Home Secretary . .	Mr. H. H. Asquith.	Mr. H. H. Asquith.
6. Foreign Secretary .	Earl of Rosebery.	Earl of Kimberley.
7. Colonial Secretary .	Marquis of Ripon.	Marquis of Ripon.
8. War Secretary . . .	Mr. H. Campbell-Bannerman.	Mr. H. Campbell-Bannerman.
(Secretary for India .	Earl of Kimberley).	Mr. H. H. Fowler.
9. Secretary for Scotland .	Sir George Trevelyan.	Sir George Trevelyan.
10. First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl Spencer.	Earl Spencer.
11. Chief Secretary for Ireland	Mr. John Morley	Mr. John Morley.
12. Postmaster-General .	Mr. Arnold Morley.	Mr. Arnold Morley.
13. President of Board of Trade	Mr. Mundella.	Mr. Mundella, resigned. Mr. Bryce, 1894.
14. Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster	Mr. Bryce.	Mr. Bryce. Lord Tweedmouth, May 1894
15. Vice-President of the Council [Education]	Mr. A. H. Acland.	Mr. A. H. Acland.
16. President of Local Government Board	Mr. H. H. Fowler.	Mr. J. Shaw Lefevre.
17. First Commissioner of Works	Mr. J. Shaw Lefevre.	Mr. H. J. Gladstone [Not in Cabinet].

MR. GLADSTONE'S FOURTH ADMINISTRATION

ON HIS RETIREMENT IN MARCH 1894 THE MINISTRY WAS RECAST AND THE ADMINISTRATION CARRIED ON BY

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY

From—August 18, 1892, *to* March 2, 1894.
Duration—1 year and 193 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Liberal.
Principal Events—Introduction of Second Home Rule Bill, Passing of Parish Councils Act, Chino-Japanese War, Introduction of Welsh Church Disestablishment, Local Veto, and Irish Land Bills.
Parliaments Dissolved—None.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. Peel.

1893.—PARLIAMENT opened January 31.

So heavy a legislative programme was presented that it was manifest from the first that the greater part of the measures proposed could not be passed. But all the rest were overshadowed by the **Irish Home Rule Bill**, which was introduced by Mr. Gladstone on February 13, and was read a first time after a debate of four nights.

The debates on this Bill dominated the whole Session. The second reading was moved April 6, and was carried, April 21, by 347 to 304. The committee stage commenced May 8, and lasted till June 29, when a resolution was carried enabling the Government to employ the closure, ending the discussion on the different clauses by compartments.

July 27.—The Bill passed through committee; but the report stage occupied a month, and it was not till September 1 that the measure was read a third time and sent up to the Lords, who gave it short shrift, and threw it out on September 8 by 419 to 41. In the Commons upwards of 600 amendments to it had been entered; and the debates were not carried through without many turbulent scenes, the worst of which, on July 27, actually ended in a personal encounter.

At the beginning of the Session discussions took place as to the course to be pursued with regard to Uganda and the administration of Swaziland.

Mr. Gladstone, now in his eighty-fourth year, displayed marvellous energy and resource during one of the most protracted Sessions of modern times. A novel question arose out of the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords. It was contended, on the one hand, that another reference should be made to the country by a dissolution; but, on the other hand, Mr. Gladstone, especially in his speech at Edinburgh on September 27, stated that though dissolutions had been frequently brought about by an adverse vote in the House of Commons, there was no precedent for a dissolution to be brought about by an adverse vote in the House of Lords.

The Indian Budget was not discussed until September 21.

September 22.—The House was adjourned till the Autumn Session, November 2.

1893–1894.—After the adjournment the House reassembled November 2, and sat through the month of November and the greater part of December in passing the **Parish Councils Bill** and the **Employers' Liability Bill.** The House of Lords reassembled November 13. The proceedings in committee on the Parish Councils Bill were prolonged, but at the very end of the year a compromise was come to between the Front Benches, under which the Bill was passed.

1894.—The Bill came before the House of Lords, where, however, various amendments were carried, most of which were rejected by the Commons. It was not until the beginning of March that the Bill finally passed and received the Royal Assent.

The Employers' Liability Bill was less fortunate. After passing through the House of Commons, the Lords insisted upon the question known as 'contracting out.' Mr. Gladstone considered that with this addition the Bill would have been worthless, and he accordingly withdrew it.

On March 2 **Mr. Gladstone resigned** the Premiership. The vacant post was offered to and accepted by Lord Rosebery. The immediate cause assigned was that a medical examination of Mr. Gladstone's eyes had disclosed the existence of cataract and the necessity sooner or later of an operation. On March 17 he, in a letter to Sir John Cowan, replied to an affectionate address from his constituents, and it would be hard to imagine a more noble or impressive declaration on bidding farewell to office—closing a political life which had extended to sixty years.

On March 5 the Session, which had commenced January 31, 1893, ended. Parliament was prorogued only for one week.

EARL OF ROSEBERY'S ADMINISTRATION

1894–1895

THE CABINET

1. First Lord of the Treasury and President of the Council	Earl of Rosebery.
2. Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord Herschell.
3. Lord Privy Seal . . .	Lord Tweedmouth.
4. Chancellor of the Exchequer .	Sir W. V. Harcourt, Leader in House of Commons.
5. Home Secretary . . .	Mr. Asquith.
6. Foreign Secretary . . .	Earl of Kimberley.
7. Colonial Secretary . . .	Marquis of Ripon.
8. War Secretary . . .	Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.
9. Secretary for India . .	Mr. Henry Fowler.
10. First Lord of the Admiralty .	Earl Spencer.
11. Chief Secretary for Ireland .	Mr. John Morley.
12. Secretary for Scotland . .	Sir Geo. Trevelyan.
13. President of Board of Trade .	Mr. Mundella.
14. President of Local Government Board	Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
15. Postmaster-General . .	Mr. A. Morley.
16. Vice-President of Committee of Council on Education .	Mr. Acland.
17. Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster	Mr. Bryce.

EARL OF ROSEBERY'S ADMINISTRATION

From—March 3, 1894, *to* June 22, 1895.
Duration—1 year and 121 days.
Reign—Victoria.
Principal Events—Annexation of Uganda, Budget with the Death Duties.
Parliament Dissolved—None.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. Peel, resigned April 8, 1895 (created Viscount Peel).
Mr. Gully, Q.C.

1894.—No time was lost in the reconstruction of the Cabinet consequent on Mr. Gladstone's retirement. All the Ministers were unanimous in agreeing to serve under Lord Rosebery's Premiership. The only changes were that Lord Kimberley was put in charge of the Foreign Office, Mr. Fowler of the India Office, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who had been First Commissioner of Works (an office in which he was succeeded by Mr. Herbert Gladstone without a seat in the Cabinet), became President of the Local Government Board.

On the day of the opening of Parliament Lord Rosebery, speaking at the Foreign Office, said: 'It has been thought possible that I and my colleagues on this occasion might take the opportunity of making some formal declaration of policy. In my opinion there is no necessity for any such declaration. We stand where we did. There is no change of measures; there is only a most disastrous change of men.' Sir William Harcourt at the same time stated that there was

no change of policy, but that they were irrevocably pledged to 'the Newcastle Programme.'

Parliament opened March 12.

There was a fiasco at the very commencement of the Session, on an amendment to the Address proposed by Mr. Labouchere being carried by 147 to 145. This amendment was to beg Her Majesty that the power now exercised by persons not elected to Parliament by the possession of the Parliamentary franchise (*i.e.* the peers) to prevent the passing of Bills shall cease. Sir W. Harcourt said it was impossible the Government could convey to Her Majesty such an amended Address, and accordingly they negatived it and proposed a new one omitting all reference to the subject of the House of Lords. This was agreed to. This was, however, the only serious mischance to the Government during the Session.

In opening the debates in both Houses tributes to the high qualities of Mr. Gladstone were eloquently paid from both sides. The Prime Minister, in replying to Lord Salisbury on the subject of Irish Home Rule, said, 'before it is conceded England, as the predominant member of the partnership of the three kingdoms, will have to be convinced of its justice. At present the majority of English members are hostile to it; but the conviction of England depends on one point alone, and that is the conduct of Ireland herself.' 'I believe,' Lord Rosebery continued, 'that if we can go on showing this comparative absence of agrarian crime, if we can point to the continued harmony of Ireland with the great Liberal party of this country, if we can go on giving proofs and pledges that Ireland is entitled to be granted that boon which she has never ceased to demand since the Act of Union was passed—then the conversion of England will not be of a slow or difficult character.' On March 17, at Edinburgh, Lord Rosebery qualified the above, saying he did not mean that there must be an English majority in favour of Home Rule before it could be passed, but 'that if in the next House of Commons a majority of 100 were in

favour of Home Rule, that would be a majority which would bring conviction to the minds of the House of Lords itself.'

While the question of the constitution of the House of Lords was under discussion, an amusing incident occurred when three eldest sons of peers, all of them members of the Lower House, stated their objections to the 'irrational and merciless sentence of ostracism' which sends them to the House of Lords when they succeed to their peerages.

In the early part of the year a considerable amount of attention was directed to **Uganda**, a vast tract of country on the north-west of Lake Victoria Nyanza (Central Africa), part of the territory allotted to England by the Anglo-German Agreement. Sir Gerald Portal was sent out to investigate the condition of affairs there, and, unfortunately, just as his lucid report was received he was taken ill with malarial fever, and, amidst universal regret, died. He had expressed himself strongly against the evacuation of the country, because of its strategical importance, which he considered so great that if England left it the country would certainly be taken up at once by Germany or by the Congo State; but he thought that it should be connected to the Cape by railway. On April 12 Lord Rosebery stated that, 'after considering this report and weighing the consequences of withdrawal from Uganda on the one hand, and on the other of maintaining British interests there, the Government have determined to establish a regular Administration, and for that purpose to declare Uganda to be under a British protectorate.'

April 16.—Sir W. Harcourt introduced his **Budget**. This was the most memorable event of the Session, and will probably be, it is said, Sir William Harcourt's anchor in history. In 1893–94 the expenditure had been 91,303,000*l.*; that estimated for 1894–95 was 95,458,000*l.*, or an increase of 4,155,000*l.*, of which 3,318,000*l.* was for the navy. The estimated revenue on the old lines was

under 91,000,000*l.*, so there was a deficit of about four and a half millions to be faced. This was met by increased taxation and other means; thus:

	£
Appropriation of new Sinking Fund . .	2,123,000
Graduated Death Duties	1,000,000
Extra 1*d.* on income tax	330,000
Extra 6*d.* per gallon on spirits . . .	760,000
Extra 6*d.* per barrel on beer	580,000
Total	4,793,000

leaving an estimated surplus of 291,000*l.*

The great change which will ever be characteristic of this Budget is in the **Death Duties**. These have been remodelled so as ultimately to yield an estimated annual increase of nearly four millions. There is an assimilation of the charges on all kinds of property, and the ground is cleared by abolishing or merging the present probate duty, the account duty, the estate duty, and the addition made by Mr. Goschen to the succession duty, into the new Estate Duty. This was graduated from 1 per cent. to 8 per cent. on estates valued from 100*l.* to 1,000,000*l.*

The scheme was, of course, violently opposed. The second reading on May 10 was carried only by a majority of 14—308–294; and it then went into committee, and was debated clause by clause till July 17, when the third reading was carried by a majority of 20—283–263.

Lord Rosebery's Ladas won the Derby.

June 28.—Resolutions were unanimously passed in both Houses expressing their abhorrence of the crime of assassinating President Carnot, and their sympathy with the Government and people of France.

Behring Sea Award Act, brought in by the Attorney-General (Sir C. Russell), March 29, to carry into effect the award of the arbitration constituted under treaty between this country and the United States, with a view to prevent the extermination of the fur seal, read a third time, April 17.

Bill for **Disestablishment of the Welsh Church** was intro-

duced by Mr. Asquith, and read the first time April 30. It was strongly opposed, and in May a manifesto against it was issued by the Bench of Bishops. The Bill was withdrawn, with others, on July 18.

Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Arbitration Bill, introduced by Mr. Morley, to facilitate restoration of evicted tenants to their holdings by appointment of a board of three arbitrators. Second reading carried (259–227) July 23. It then went through committee, the Opposition having abstained from taking any part in the discussion; was taken to the House of Lords, where it was read a first time, August 7, and was rejected on the second reading, August 14 (249–30).

On August 17 Mr. Morley, while deploring the rejection by the House of Lords of this Bill, which had been introduced to meet certain social and administrative difficulties in Ireland, the existence of which was admitted by every part of the House, stated that it was the duty and intention of Government to make another attempt next Session.

Equalisation of Rates (London) Act, which had been introduced last year, but had been opposed by the Opposition and withdrawn, was this year not opposed, and was passed by the House of Commons, August 20.

The Mines Eight Hours Bill, of which the second reading was carried by 281 to 191, was on August 14 withdrawn because a local option amendment proposed by Mr. D. A. Thomas was carried by 112 to 107, and this was deemed by the Government to have nullified the Bill.

August 25.—Parliament was prorogued. In the **Queen's Speech** mention was made of the birth of a son to the Duke and Duchess of York on June 23—'a heir to the throne in the third generation, an event not merely propitious but unprecedented in the history of this country.' Allusion was made also to the treaty between France and Siam, and the questions arising therefrom as to the neutral region near the Mekong; and with regard to the Budget Her Majesty said: 'Though I lament the necessity for increasing the burden of taxation, it had become indispensable for the security of

my Empire to increase my naval strength. I trust that the alterations to which the greatest part of this Session has been necessarily devoted will have the effect of materially alleviating that portion of the burden which falls upon the less wealthy, and may redound to the contentment and prosperity of the nation at large.'

The breakdown in **Lord Randolph Churchill's** health, which was evident in his Parliamentary performances, was acknowledged by his departure on a journey round the world. [He returned to England still broken in health, and died January 24, 1895.]

The Comte de Paris, the representative of the Bourbons, died at Stowe in September.

October 9.—**Lord Grey** died, in his ninety-third year. He was the eldest son of the Whig Premier of 1830. His Parliamentary career had begun in 1826, when he was returned as member for Winchelsea. He was Secretary of War in Lord Melbourne's second Administration, but had resigned in consequence of not agreeing about certain changes effected in the Cabinet. Subsequently he was Colonial Secretary in Lord John Russell's first Administration, 1846–52, and, though still taking a great interest in political affairs, had not since then held office.

October 27.—Lord Rosebery, speaking at Bradford, said that the next election would be fought, not on Disestablishment, Home Rule, or the Liquor question, but upon the **power of the House of Lords.** He showed that whatever was or might be the Liberal majority in the House of Commons, there were but 30 Liberal peers in a House of 560, and the only way of controlling this would be, first, carrying a resolution in the House of Commons that in the partnership between the two Houses the Commons is unmistakably the predominant partner, and then appealing to the country to support such resolution.

The gauntlet thus thrown down was of course taken up, and the challenge accepted by all the Conservative and Liberal Unionist speakers throughout the country.

November 1.—The Czar Alexander III. died in the Crimea.

The war between Japan and China, which broke out in July, lasted during the remainder of the year; the Japanese were in every event victorious, and at the close of the year the Chinese Government at last brought itself to send accredited envoys to Japan to sue for peace.

In December the first Parish Councils were held in every rural parish throughout England and Wales.

1895. February 5.—Parliament met.

The Queen's Speech set out a portentous list of measures:

1. Welsh Disestablishment.
2. Irish Land.
3. Irish Evicted Tenants.
4. Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic.
5. Abolition of Plural Voting (one man one vote).
6. Payment of Returning Officers' Charges at Elections.
7. Unification of London.
8. Light Railways in Agricultural Districts.
9. Conciliation in Trade Disputes.
10. Amendment of Factory Acts.
11. Completion of County Government in Scotland.
12. Scottish Crofters.

The debate on the Address was prolonged till February 18, the various amendments being lost by very small majorities—20, 12, and 14. Then Sir William Harcourt moved the closure, which was only carried by a majority of 8—279 to 271.

February 25.—**Welsh Church Disestablishment Bill** introduced by Mr. Asquith. The debate on the second reading was very protracted, but it was eventually carried by a majority of 44. But it was when the Bill went into committee that it was seen to be really in danger, and some of the amendments were defeated by very slight majorities. The disarray of the Ministerialists was increased by the discovery that the Government Whips had broken Mr. Gladstone's pair with Mr. Villiers, on the admitted ground that he

disapproved of some of the provisions of the Bill, and wished to retain his independence.

At the beginning of April **Mr. Peel** announced his intention to resign the Speakership. The loss of Mr. Peel, one of the strongest Speakers who has ever filled the chair, was universally deplored, and it was felt that his place could not easily be filled. The Opposition were willing to support Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, but as the Government declined to dispense with his services as Secretary of War, they advanced the claim of Sir Matthew White Ridley. Sir William Harcourt then said that the Government would support Mr. Courtney, but the Liberal Unionists were unwilling to separate themselves from their Conservative allies; and the Ministerialists then put forward Mr. Gully, Q.C., the member for Carlisle, a barrister of good standing and universally popular.

On April 8 Mr. Peel, in a speech full of dignity and pathos, took leave of the Assembly over which he had presided for eleven years. On April 10 Mr. Gully was elected by 285 votes, Sir M. W. Ridley receiving 274. Ever since his election Mr. Gully has shown himself admirably qualified for his high post.

During April **the Chitral expedition**, under General Sir R. Low, took place. Before leaving office the Government decided not to retain Chitral.

May 2.—Sir W. Harcourt brought in the **Budget**. Compared with 1894 it was tame, the only striking feature being the reduction of the surplus due to the growth of the revenue by the abolition of the extra spirit duties.

May 7.—**Death of Lord Selborne**. On the 13th his son, late Viscount Wolmer, took his seat in the House of Commons in order to test the right of a peer to remain a member. He was asked by the Speaker to withdraw, and a select committee was appointed to inquire into the matter, who reported on May 21 that he had succeeded to the earldom, and therefore had become a member of the Upper House.

May 29.—Lord Rosebery again won the Derby with Sir Visto.

During all May and the first half of June the House was in committee on the clauses of the Welsh Church Bill, the Government majority sometimes falling as low as 7.

June 21.—Army estimates brought in by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman. He first announced the approaching **retirement of the Duke of Cambridge**, and the arrangements the Government proposed to make when appointing his successor. Mr. Brodrick moved an amendment to reduce the Secretary of War's salary by 100*l.*, and to call attention to the inadequacy of the **store of small arms ammunition**.

There was only a thin House, as no one expected an important division on this side-issue.

The amendment was carried by a majority of 7 (132 to 125), and **Lord Rosebery** and his colleagues immediately **resigned**, and on the 23rd Lord Salisbury was sent for by the Queen.



MARQUIS OF SALISBURY'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION

1895

(Continuing into Twentieth Century)

THE CABINET

1. Premier and Foreign Secretary	Marquis of Salisbury. Marquis of Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary, November 1900.
2. Lord President of the Council.	Duke of Devonshire.
3. Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord Halsbury.
4. Lord Privy Seal . . .	Viscount Cross, retired Nov. 1900. Marquis of Salisbury, Nov. 1900.
5. Chancellor of the Exchequer .	Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.
6. Home Secretary . . .	Sir Matthew White Ridley, retired Nov. 1900. Mr. Ritchie.
7. Colonial Secretary . . .	Mr. Joseph Chamberlain.
8. Secretary for War . . .	Marquis of Lansdowne. Mr. Brodrick, Nov. 1900.
9. Secretary for India . .	Lord George Hamilton.
10. Secretary for Scotland . .	Lord Balfour of Burleigh.
11. First Lord of the Admiralty .	Mr. Geo. Goschen, retired Nov. 1900. Lord Selborne.
12. First Lord of the Treasury .	Mr. A. J. Balfour, and Leader of the House of Commons.
13. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland .	Earl Cadogan.
14. Lord Chancellor of Ireland .	Lord Ashbourne.
15. President of Board of Trade .	Mr. C. T. Ritchie. Mr. Gerald Balfour, Nov. 1900.
16. Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster	Lord James of Hereford.
17. President of Local Government Board	Mr. Hy. Chaplin, retired Nov. 1900. Mr. Walter Long.
18. President of Board of Agriculture	Mr. W. H. Long. Mr. R. W. Hanbury, Nov. 1900.
19. First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings . .	Mr. A. Akers-Douglas.
20. Postmaster-General . .	Duke of Norfolk; was not in the Cabinet. Lord Londonderry, 1900.

LORD SALISBURY'S THIRD ADMINISTRATION

From—July 2, 1895, continuing into twentieth century.
Duration—6½ years to end of the century.
Reign—Victoria.
Party—Conservative-Unionist.
Principal Events—Venezuela Arbitration, Jameson Raid, Ashanti Expedition, Matabele Insurrection, Indian Famine and Plague, Queen's Diamond Jubilee, Boer War in South Africa, Ashanti Rebellion, Chinese Rebellion and Crisis.
Parliaments Dissolved—July 8, 1895, on taking office.
Sept. 25, 1900, on supposed near conclusion of the Boer War.
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. W. C. Gully.

Lord Salisbury was sent for by the Queen on June 23, and two days afterwards was able to announce that he was prepared to accept office, for the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain had stated a few days previously that they would not shrink from entering a Cabinet composed of all sections of the Unionists. The new Ministry was formed without any serious difficulties. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour announced that their immediate policy was one of dissolution pure and simple.

No difficulty was experienced in obtaining at once the necessary votes on account; in saving the Factories and Workshops Bill, on which much time had been expended in committee, together with some other non-contentious and useful measures, though there was no time to introduce the necessary amendments into the Irish Municipal Franchise Bill.

July 6.—Parliament was prorogued.

July 8 Parliament was **dissolved.**

The result of the **elections** was a complete rout of the Liberal party. At the close of last Session they had a very precarious majority of 20; the result of the general election was that the Unionists succeeded in obtaining a solid majority of 152 over Liberals, Nationalists and Parnellites combined. The Unionists gained 110 seats, the Liberals only 20. The Liberal Unionists, who had been only 40, are now 71.

	Unionists.	Liberals.
England	349	116
Wales	8	22
Scotland	33	39
Ireland	21	82
Total . .	411	259

In London the Unionists obtained 54 seats out of 62.

Mr. Gladstone did not stand.

August 12.—Parliament met. **Mr. Gully** was re-elected Speaker unanimously.

August 15.—**Queen's Speech** referred to the conclusion of Chino-Japanese War, regretted the murder of English missionaries in China, and spoke with indignation of the horrors perpetrated on the Christians in Armenia, adding that, by the consent of the European Powers, the Sultan had been called on to make reforms. All legislative measures were deferred to another Session.

August 19.—Address in reply was finally carried after a closure division (217–63). It was announced that Lord Wolseley would be the new Commander-in-Chief.

August 20.—The Attorney-General's motion declaring John Daly (the member elected for Limerick) to be incapable of sitting, he having been convicted of felony, carried '256–74).

The Government decided to reverse the decision of their predecessors with regard to **Chitral**, and permanently to annex it and make a road up to it.

September 5.—After supplies were voted Parliament was prorogued.

The year was apparently ending peacefully, as far as England was concerned, when the calm was suddenly broken in December. At the beginning of the month a dispute arose between this country and **Venezuela**, which was in course of being settled when England was startled by a Message from President Cleveland threatening the British Government with war if they attempted to force their proposals on the Venezuelan Government.

There was a great 'war scare' on both sides of the Atlantic over a matter where only a little common-sense was required to put an end to it; subsequently a Commission was appointed to **arbitrate** in the matter, and the scare gradually subsided.

In the last few days of the year occurred the famous **Jameson Raid** from Mafeking to Johannesburg, ostensibly in answer to an appeal sent from the Transvaal Uitlanders demanding protection against Mr. Kruger's Government.

1896.—Dr. Jameson and his handful of men were on New Year's Day taken prisoners by the Transvaal authorities acting under the orders of President Kruger. This foolish and ill-judged action by Dr. Jameson and his party laid the seed of much disaster and trouble to this country for years to come. In a military point of view this raid was one of the maddest and most unscientific actions conceivable, and, in the language of the 'Times,' 'one of the most blundering attempts at revolution that history has ever known.' It afterwards transpired that it was worse than a blunder, for it was in direct disobedience of orders; for when the news came that the raid was about to take place Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed strict orders that they should return. The orders were communicated to Dr. Jameson and Sir John Willoughby by a messenger who met them on the march; but they were utterly disregarded. Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner, in spite of ill-health, showed remarkable activity, and proceeded at once

to Pretoria to remedy the harm done, as far as possible. The immediate result of his arrival was that on the one side Johannesburg laid down its arms, and on the other the Transvaal Government decided to hand over the prisoners to the British authorities, on the understanding that they should be brought to trial in England for a breach of the neutrality laws.

A very strong feeling of indignation was caused in this country on learning that the German Emperor had telegraphed congratulations to Mr. Kruger on repelling the armed band of marauders.

In consequence of certain untoward rumours **Mr. Rhodes** on January 6 resigned the Premiership of Cape Colony, and was succeeded by Sir J. Gordon Sprigg; he immediately came to England, had an interview with Mr. Chamberlain, and left again for the Cape within a week.

Madagascar was on January 23 declared to be a French possession.

Mr. A. Austin appointed Poet Laureate.

February 11.—Parliament met. **The Queen's Speech** unfolded a heavy list of foreign complications, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

1. Agreement with the French establishing independence of Siam.

2. Delimitation of Indian frontier and Afghanistan from Russian territory.

3. Arbitration with United States of America to settle Venezuelan difficulty.

4. Protest with other European Powers to Sultan about Armenian atrocities.

5. The Jameson Raid: 'My Ministers intervened to prohibit this hostile action. The origin and circumstances of these proceedings will form the subject of a searching inquiry. The President of the Republic, acting in this matter with moderation and wisdom, agreed to place the prisoners in the hands of my Commissioner, and I have undertaken to bring to trial the leaders of the expedition.'

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

6. The close of the Ashanti expedition to suppress the barbarous customs at Kumassi, where Prince Henry of Battenberg lost his life.

7. Termination of the Chitral expedition.

There were also twelve principal measures of domestic legislation introduced into the Speech:

1. Relief of Agricultural Distress.
2. Elementary Schools.
3. Compensation to Workmen for Injuries.
4. Land Act (Ireland).
5. Public Health (Scotland).
6. Settlement of Trade Disputes.
7. Light Railways.
8. Public Companies.
9. Preventing Importation of Destitute Aliens.
10. London Water Supply.
11. Board of Agriculture (Ireland).
12. Amending Law of Evidence.

The matter of the **Elementary Schools** aroused a storm of controversy, although the Bill was introduced under the most favourable auspices in April and carried on to its second reading, owing largely to the support of the Roman Catholic Irish, and by the enormous majority of 267; but it was withdrawn on June 22, killed by the 1,238 amendments proposed in committee.

The Government succeeded, however, in passing three of their other principal measures, viz. the Naval Defence Bill, the Irish Land Bill, and the Agricultural Rating Bill. The Irish Bill had become necessary by the effluxion of the fifteen years from Mr. Gladstone's Act of 1881.

During the early part of the year the whole country was horrified by the account of the **Armenian atrocities**, as set out in the Blue Books and other newspaper accounts, which, in the words of Mr. Curzon, constituted 'one of the most appalling stories of misery ever read; whole districts have been desolated, whole villages destroyed—there has been a carnival of blood.' But the most wretched part of the

whole matter was that we and the other Christian nations of Europe seemed powerless to do more than ask the Sultan to introduce reforms, 'leaving the Christians of Armenia to the cruel mercies of barbarous Kurds directed or connived at by a still more barbarous Government. That is the grave and terrible result.'

In April four of the leaders of the Reform Committee in Johannesburg who had pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason were sentenced to death, which sentence two days afterwards was commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment, and subsequently to a fine of 25,000*l.*; other fifty-nine prisoners being fined 2,000*l.* each, and pledged not to interfere in the politics of the Transvaal. By the close of the year Mr. Kruger and General Joubert had expended the 200,000*l.* raised by these fines upon Krupp guns and other like provision 'against future contingencies.' **Dr. Jameson** and his officers, on arrival in England, were put upon their trial in July, charged with various infringements of the Foreign Enlistment Act. They were found guilty, and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, without hard labour, varying from fifteen months to five months.

In April there was a serious rising of the Matabeles and Mashonas, which was not suppressed until July.

In March a brief announcement in the 'Times' that an expedition of the Egyptian army under the Sirdar (Sir H. Kitchener), up the Nile in the direction of Dongola, was decided on was the first intimation to the public and to Parliament of the subsequently famous **Nile expedition to Khartoum** to destroy the Khalifa. It was conducted with extraordinary vigour and without a mistake, and by September 23 Dongola was reached, and occupied after various successful fights with the Dervishes.

On June 10 Lord Salisbury, in the House of Lords, said: 'I can only say that Dongola is our objective; that the instructions which Sir H. Kitchener has, are not to go beyond Dongola without leave, and that up to that point we give him an entirely free hand.' He added that the

Egyptian Government, not being able to borrow, could not for the present afford to go further, 'but if any of those millionaires who spend their money in supporting raids and invasions would come forward and offer us facilities for going further, I do not say we should be deaf to their appeals. But in the present financial position I am compelled to say our object terminates at Dongola.' Mr. Chamberlain had stated that the progress was proportioned to the amount of resistance that might be encountered in the expedition.

April 16.—**Budget** statement by Sir M. Hicks-Beach. The account was eminently satisfactory in many ways, the actual revenue for the year having exceeded the estimate by upwards of five millions, of which the Estate Duty accounted for nearly one and a half million, and Stamps the same. The next most important increase was in Customs and Excise. So, though the expenditure had also gone up—the Naval estimates alone having gone up by three millions—there was still more than a million and a half surplus to be disposed of. There was no remission of general taxation, but the surplus was thus divided:

	£
Agricultural Rating Bill	975,000
Modification of Land Tax	100,000
Modification of Death Duties	200,000
Education Grant	125,000
Contingencies	308,000
Total	1,708,000

May 26.—Coronation of the Czar and Czarina of Russia at the Kremlin, Moscow; and on the 30th there was a terrible disaster, caused by the crowds scrambling for the gifts of food, &c., after the festivities, nearly 2,000 being crushed to death.

On July 22, while in committee on the Irish Land Bill, the Government were defeated on Sir T. Esmonde's amendment (99 to 86). The Bill was, however, passed.

Parliament was prorogued August 14.

August 13.—Dr. Nansen, the explorer, returned from his

Polar expedition, arriving at Vardö, having left his ship the 'Fram' on March 14, 1895.

August 26.—Mr. Conyngham Greene was appointed British Agent in the Transvaal Republic in place of Sir Jacobus De Wet, who resigned in consequence of the Jameson incident.

October 11.—Sudden death, in church, of Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, then on a visit to Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden. He was succeeded by Dr. Temple, Bishop of London.

October 8.—In a letter to Mr. Ellis, the chief Liberal Whip, **Lord Rosebery resigned the Liberal Leadership.** He said: 'I find myself in apparent difference with a considerable mass of the Liberal party on the Eastern Question, and in some conflict of opinion with Mr. Gladstone, who must necessarily always exercise a matchless authority in the party, while scarcely from any quarter do I receive explicit support. . . . I consequently beg to notify to you that the Leadership of the party, as far as I am concerned, is vacant, and that I resume my liberty of action.'

The next day he spoke in Edinburgh, and in a dignified manner showed the difficulty that a Liberal Leader, who is also a peer, experiences. 'He is, Parliamentarily speaking, almost impotent and helpless. He is shut up in a permanently hostile assembly with a handful of followers. His voice under the most favourable circumstances can only be heard in the House of Commons, the seat of power, through the mouth of another. At a general election, when the fortunes and future of himself as well as his party are in the balance, he is restricted to absolute silence.'

October 14.—At a meeting of the National Liberal Federation in London a resolution was unanimously adopted recording their profound regret at Lord Rosebery's resignation; and it was decided to take no action for the present to fill his place, Sir William Harcourt being the Leader of the party in the House of Commons; while the Peers, when meeting at the

beginning of the next Session, would select one of their number as Leader in the House of Lords.

1897. January 19.—Parliament met.

The Queen's Speech referred to—

1. The dreadful massacre at Constantinople.
2. Nile Expedition, now safe at Dongola, which has opened the way for further advance when desirable.
3. Venezuelan border arbitration.
4. Suppression of the Matabele rebellion.
5. Depressed state of sugar industry in West Indies.
6. Famine and plague in India.

The proposed domestic legislation was not so ambitious as in the preceding Session:

1. Primary education of course took the first place.
2. Compensation for accidents to workmen.
3. National defences, the army having the precedence.
4. London Water Bill.
5. Board of Agriculture (Ireland).

And others if time permits.

The debate on the Address was somewhat tame, as there was not any regular attack from the Front Opposition bench; the reply was voted January 26.

Immediately afterwards the House got to work on the **Voluntary Schools Bill**, which Mr. Balfour kept in his own hands. The Financial Resolution was carried by a majority of 215 (325 to 110) on February 2; the second reading on February 16, by a majority of 205 (355 to 150). As no report stage was required, the third reading was taken on March 25, and after a brief debate was carried on the same day by a majority of 200 (331 to 131); and it went rapidly through the House of Lords, and became law on April 8, having passed both Houses without amendment.

Three days afterwards Sir John Gorst introduced the Financial Resolution for the **necessitous Board Schools Bill.** The measure extended the relief given to such schools under c. 97 of the Act of 1870 where the rate of 3*d.* does not pro-

duce 7*s.* 6*d.* per scholar. The relief hardly, if at all, affects London, where there is a great reserve of rateable value. The Bill was not vehemently opposed, the chief objection being the inequality in the degree and amount of relief to Board schools as compared with Voluntary schools, and the practical exclusion of London. The Bill passed rapidly through the House of Lords, and became law June 3. It was to be noted, however, that the ease with which the Bills were passed was by frequent use of the closure, it having been used fifteen times during the discussion on the Voluntary schools.

The following statement in parallel columns shows how the grants under these two Acts are distributed:

Voluntary schools are granted by the Act 616,000*l.*	Necessitous Board schools are granted by this Act 110,000*l.*
Divided by the number of school children in average attendance, $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions,	Divided by the number of Board school children in average attendance, 2 millions.
Gives an average amount per child of 5*s.*	Average amount per child, 1*s.* 2*d.*

The **Workmen's Compensation Bill** introduced by the Home Secretary, May 3. The Bill, which was chiefly promoted by Mr. Chamberlain, went through committee in nine days, the Government majority enabling them easily to veto all amendments. The Bill was said to be only tentative, and therefore only applicable to certain trades; but it was hoped that eventually all the industries of the country might be brought under the new scheme. The colliery proprietors on both sides of the House appeared discontented. The passage of the Bill was somewhat delayed by the Jubilee, but its final stage was reached, without a division, July 15. The Act only related to accidental injuries suffered in the course of employment, and did not apply to merchant shipping, agriculture, and domestic service, nor to workshops and building works where no steam power was used.

The prominence given in the Queen's Speech to measures for the national defence and the naval and military services was justified by the large figures at which the estimates now stand, viz. 22,338,000*l.* for the navy and 18,341,000*l.* for the army.

April 29.—**Budget** statement by Chancellor of the Exchequer. The revenue had increased nearly 3½ millions over the estimate, and amounted to nearly 104 millions, while the expenditure amounted to upwards of 102 millions. There was to be no reduction of taxation, though there was a surplus of 1½ million; but this was owing to large expenditure in improving many of the naval harbours. In other respects the Budget was of a somewhat commonplace kind, and passed without much opposition.

May 21.—Mr. Balfour unexpectedly disclosed an entirely new policy as regards Ireland. First, as to conceding what had been asked for as regards the agricultural relief from rating, which had been granted already in England. And, secondly, in promising that in the next Session the Government would introduce a comprehensive measure of local Government. For a wonder this scheme seemed to meet with almost universal approval, and to be a wise and conciliatory policy with a view to the approaching Jubilee.

On June 18 the **Diamond Jubilee** celebrations began; but the great day was June 22, when Her Majesty proceeded in state from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's Cathedral, where a thanksgiving service was held outside the west entrance, returning through South London to the Palace. The escort consisted of British and Foreign princes and a fine array of British, Indian, and Colonial forces, and included in the procession were the Premiers of the eleven self-governing Colonies (Canada and Newfoundland, six Australian, New Zealand, Cape Colony, and Natal). The whole progress through seven miles of streets occupied four hours, but the Queen untiredly and graciously acknowledged the acclamations of her people to the very end, no mean exploit of physical endurance, especially remembering

Her Majesty's seventy-eight years. There were various other Jubilee festivities, but by far the most important was the **Naval Review** at Spithead, June 26, when the Prince of Wales reviewed the magnificent fleet of 165 war-vessels of all classes drawn up in four lines. This vast fleet was drawn from home waters only. Even the strong Mediterranean Squadron was not indented on.

In India, unfortunately, the year was marked by a terrible **Famine** affecting portions of the country inhabited by nearly one hundred millions of people. There was a noble response to the appeal to England for help, and nearly one and a half million sterling was sent in relief. There was also a very severe outbreak of bubonic **Plague**, supposed to have been brought to Bombay from Hong Kong. Difficulties arose in carrying out preventive measures, and in Poona, on the day of the London Jubilee procession, two of the English officers employed on this work were murdered.

In January the **committee** of the House was appointed to inquire into the subject of **the Raid** and the whole South African question; and Mr. Rhodes was summoned home to give evidence. The inquiry lasted during the whole of the spring, and pending the final report the subject was not debated in the House. Mr. Jackson was chairman, and Sir W. Harcourt, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach were among the members of the committee. On July 13 **the report** was issued. In it the action of Mr. Rhodes was severely condemned, and he was pronounced guilty of subsidising, organising and stimulating the armed insurrection in the Transvaal. Mr. Beit and Mr. Maguire were convicted of cognisance of Mr. Rhodes's plans, and Sir Graham Bower and Mr. Newton of wrongfully withholding from the High Commissioner compromising information which had come to their knowledge. There was nothing, the report stated, to show that Lord Rosmead, Mr. Chamberlain, or any of the officials in the Colonial Office knew of the plot beforehand. The committee affirmed that they were not able to report on the administration of the Chartered

Company in the terms of the reference, and they did not recommend their own reappointment.

The debates which followed upon the report were inconclusive, but there was a general feeling that the report was not altogether as exhaustive and satisfactory as it should have been.

The Tirah campaign against the Afridis on the North-Western frontier of India continued during the whole autumn under Sir William Lockhart, and many valuable lives were lost; the latest stage of the campaign was one of temporary withdrawal owing to the setting in of winter.

The Greek and Turkish War took place in March and April, and chiefly centred round the question of the annexation of Crete to Greece. In May, when the Greek troops were withdrawn from Crete, 'the Powers,' which had done little but display their want of power, at last intervened, though it is not manifest that anything has really been done to improve the condition of affairs in the island.

August 6.—Parliament was prorogued.

October 27.—**Death of Princess Mary**, Duchess of Teck, one of the most deservedly popular of the Royal Family, and one whose energy in promoting all good works knew no bounds.

The London Water Bill referred to in the Queen's Speech was not introduced, because Ministers had come to the conclusion that further inquiry ought to precede comprehensive legislation, and they had accordingly resolved to appoint a Royal Commission on the subject.

1898. February 8.—Parliament met.

In **the Queen's Speech** reference was made to—

1. The protracted difficulty of arriving at an agreement about the government of Crete.

2. The despatch of British troops to assist the Egyptian army on the Nile.

3. The depressed state of the sugar trade in the West Indies.

4. The troubles in India, first from the Afridis on the frontier, and next from the plague.

No allusion, however, was made to the critical events in China or the strained relations between the United States and Spain.

The following was the programme of legislation :

1. Local Government of Ireland.
2. Army increase.
3. Criminal evidence.
4. Municipalities in London.
5. Vaccination law amendment; and other measures if time permit.

The Address was debated till February 18, but there were no near divisions.

February 21.—**The Irish Local Government Bill**, which was intended to be the principal business of the Session, was introduced by Mr. Gerald Balfour, and read the first time. The Bill followed in the main line on the English and Scotch measures. Urban and rural district councils and boards of guardians were set up upon the same basis. Six large towns—Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Londonderry and Waterford (to which, when the Bill was in the House of Lords, Lord Morris wanted to add Galway)—were constituted as county boroughs. The Bill, on the whole, was well received by all parties, though the Irish landlords and large ratepayers, whom it deprives of a certain amount of power, which is transferred to the elected representatives, viewed it with no favour. In committee there were fifteen sittings, which lasted all through May, but there was no serious opposition; it finally passed through the House of Lords, and became law July 29. Neither the Opposition nor the Irish Nationalists could really oppose this large and liberal measure of local government for Ireland; they could only say that it was not such as to remove the desire for Home Rule.

The **Evidence in Criminal Cases Bill** was introduced into the House of Lords at the beginning of the Session, and

passed through the Commons by July 26. The main provision was to enable accused persons to give evidence on oath in their own cases, if they so wished. This proposal had been discussed at much length in previous years, and was felt by all to be a wise alteration in our criminal procedure.

March 15.—The **Vaccination Bill**, introduced by Mr. Chaplin, was read a first time. The measure, which was a half-hearted one, preserved in a sense the principle of compulsion, and its opponents wanted complete liberty.

On the report stage Sir Walter Foster moved that a conscientious objection by a parent should be sufficient to exonerate him from responsibility for non-compliance with the law. To this Mr. Balfour gave way, making, indeed, a further concession, that the magistrates, being satisfied with the *bona fides* of the objector, were without questioning him to exempt him from liability. This, as Mr. Chaplin frankly avowed, practically put an end to compulsory vaccination altogether.

On August 4, in the House of Lords, the conscience clause was thrown out by 40 to 38. But when the Bill went back to the Commons the Lords' amendment expunging Clause 2, relating to the conscientious objector, was disagreed with, and the clause was restored by 129 to 34. Mr. Chaplin added that it was against his own convictions, but he was obliged to give way before the weight of opinion: 'For a whole night he had stood up in the House of Commons, and not a man on his own side supported him, when, of the 23 members who spoke, all, with one exception, supported the conscience clause.'

On the return of the Bill to the House of Lords a strong whip collected 100 peers, and they were most earnestly asked by Lord Salisbury not to adhere to their former opinion, but to give way to the reiterated wish of the Commons. He carried his point by 55 to 45. But all the Tory papers condemned this action as 'cruelly maiming the authority of the House of Lords, and justifying those who insist that it ought to be only a registering body for the

decrees of the Commons, even if it is allowed to exist at all—and this at the instigation of Lord Salisbury himself. It is to be hoped that some terrible visitation of small-pox in our midst will not accentuate the folly of this weak concession.

April 21.—The **Budget** brought in by Sir M. Hicks-Beach:

	£
Total revenue	106,614,000
Total expenditure	102,936,000
Surplus	3,678,000

In an ordinary way this ought to have gone to the reduction of the National Debt; but 2,550,000*l* was taken for new Government buildings, there was a slight graduation of the income tax and a slight rearrangement of the Death Duties (which this year produced upwards of eleven millions, an increase of five millions as compared with 1894), and a reduction of the tobacco duty costing 1,120,000*l*.

May 19.—**Death of Mr. Gladstone** at Hawarden. There was a formal adjournment of the House out of respect to his memory, and Mr. Balfour gave notice of a resolution for a public funeral and monument. This was moved the next day in both Houses, where all the leaders made with dignity and simplicity appropriate speeches. On the 23rd the Royal assent was given to the public funeral; on the 26th and 27th the body lay in State in Westminster Hall; and on the 28th both Houses attended in State the funeral of the most conspicuous personality in our recent Parliamentary life; political differences were for the time laid aside, and nothing was remembered except his long public service, his stately eloquence, his eager intellectual and moral interests, his domestic virtues, and his ascendency, unequalled in our day, over the historic Assembly of which he had been a member for more than threescore years.

June 27.—Sir M. Hicks-Beach obtained a remission of the Egyptian loan of 800,000*l*., which would, he said, enable Egypt to accomplish the reconquest of Khartoum out of her own resources; carried by 155 to 81. Sir W.

Harcourt objected, on the ground that this ought to have been brought in as part of the Budget.

During the Session there were frequent and exciting debates on our **policy in China**. At the opening of the Session both Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour had expressed confidence in the good faith of Russia, and in the maintenance of our influence in China as well as the policy of the 'open door.' On April 29, when the Foreign Office vote was taken, the withdrawal of the British Fleet from Port Arthur under Russian pressure, and our lease of Wei-Hai-Wei, were criticised in able speeches by Sir W. Harcourt and Sir Edward Grey, and ably defended by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Curzon. But the general uneasiness as to the situation in China continued unabated to the close of the Session.

July 30.—Prince Bismarck died at Friedrichsruh.

August 10.—Mr. Curzon was appointed Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Elgin.

August 12.—Parliament was prorogued.

On the Nile Sir Herbert Kitchener with a vastly increased force pushed on from Dongola. The first great battle was fought on Good Friday, above Berber on the Atbara. About the middle of August the advance towards Khartoum began. On September 2 the great battle of Omdurman was fought, the Khalifa commanding his army in person; the enemy lost 11,000 killed and more wounded, our loss being within 100 killed. The Khalifa himself fled with a comparatively small following. On the Sunday (September 4) the Sirdar proceeded to the ruins of Khartoum, and there in Gordon's own palace a religious service was held in memory of the dead hero. Hearing of a force of Europeans up the Nile, the Sirdar pushed forward, and at **Fashoda**, on September 21, came across the encampment of Major Marchand, with six French officers and about one hundred Senegalese troops under the French flag. Then followed an almost comical episode, but which might easily have ended most disastrously. The Sirdar requested Major Marchand to evacuate the dominions of the Khedive, and Major

Marchand on his part refused to do so without definite orders from his Government. For two months negotiations went on, fortunately in this instance marked with consistent firmness on the part of the English Foreign Office; and eventually the French withdrew from what was an utterly untenable position.

War between the United States and Spain, which ended in less than three months in the loss by Spain of almost the last relics of her once vast colonial empire, and in the apparently definite adoption of a new Imperial and military policy by the United States.

May 1.—Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Manila. July 3.—Admiral Cervera's fleet in Santiago Harbour steamed out into the open, and every one of them was burnt, captured, or driven ashore by the United States fleet. Peace was concluded in August in the following terms. (1) The renunciation by Spain of her sovereignty over Cuba, on the understanding that it should be governed as an American protectorate. (2) The absolute cession of Puerto Rico. (3) The cession of the Philippine Islands on the payment of twenty million dollars, the supposed value of the Government buildings.

Hawaii was also annexed by the United States.

September 11.—The English West India Islands were devastated by a terrific hurricane, and England had to come to their aid with liberal grants, both public and private.

The Dreyfus case occupied France during the whole year.

September 10.—The Empress of Austria was stabbed at Geneva by an Italian Anarchist.

On August 29 **the Czar** issued his momentous **Rescript** in favour of doing away with the competition in international armaments. The outcome was a Peace Conference at the Hague in May 1899, which established a permanent court of arbitration, to which the Powers agreed to resort before having recourse to war; but no progress whatever was made towards disarmament.

December 13. **Resignation by Sir William Harcourt** of the Leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, conveyed in a letter to Mr. John Morley.

1899. January 17.—Mr. Morley, speaking at Brechin, said he retired from any official position in the Liberal party, chiefly, as far as one could understand, on account of the Liberal party agreeing too much with the Government's foreign policy and Imperialism.

February 6.—At a meeting at the Reform Club **Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman** was unanimously elected Leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons.

February 7.—Opening of Parliament.

The Queen's Speech referred to—

1. The victory at Omdurman and the subjugation of the Soudan.

2. The restoration of peace in Crete, and the appointment of Prince George as Governor.

3. Willingness to take part in the deliberations at the conference summoned by the Czar.

4. Sorrow at the assassination of the Empress of Austria, and at the destruction of life and property in the West Indies by the hurricane, &c.

The following were the proposals for domestic legislation :

1. London Government Bill.

2. Primary, Secondary and Technical Education in England and Wales.

3. Simplifying private legislation in Scotland.

4. Bill to enable local authorities to assist occupiers of small dwellings in purchase of the same ; and other minor Bills.

In the debate on the Address, which was concluded on February 21, stress was laid on the paucity of the legislative programme, and especially on the omission of all allusion to such subjects as old-age pensions, restriction of alien immigration, temperance reform, &c., although the

Government was one of such exceptional strength in both Houses.

February 17.—M. Faure, President of the French Republic, suddenly died from an apoplectic seizure. He was succeeded by M. Loubet.

February 23.—Mr. Balfour introduced his **London Local Government Bill.** This aimed at completing the edifice of local administration in London by the creation of subordinate municipalities, in place of the existing vestries and district boards. The City of London was left untouched, and the authority of the London County Council was not expressly interfered with. The Metropolis (less the City) was divided into twenty-seven boroughs, of which the most important was 'Greater Westminster,' which embraced the whole of the old parliamentary city. The extreme partisans of the County Council opposed the Bill, which was, of course, not in favour with the classes who have hitherto dominated the vestries; but in the House itself the opposition to the Bill was very weak. On March 24 the second reading was carried by a majority of 127 (245 to 118).

In committee the Opposition tried to cut up 'Greater Westminster' into two boroughs, but Mr. Lawson Walton could only secure 49 votes in favour of his amendment.

A long discussion took place as to whether women should be competent to hold municipal office. The committee eventually decided that women were ineligible as mayors, but could be councillors or aldermen.

When the Bill was sent to the House of Lords, Lord Dunraven's amendment excluding women from the councils was, on June 26, carried by a majority of 114 (182 to 68), in spite of a protest from the Prime Minister. On consideration of this point in the House of Commons, Mr. Courtney endeavoured to retain the right of women to sit as councillors, though giving up their claim to mayoralty and aldermanship; but Mr. Balfour said that the Government, as a whole, deprecated a conflict on this question with the Peers; and he was supported by a majority of 69 (246 to 177), and so the Bill was passed on July 6 and women were excluded.

The Tithe Rent-charge Rating Bill, introduced by Mr. Long on June 22, provided that half the rates payable by clergymen on tithe rent-charge attached to a benefice were to be discharged out of the Imperial contribution to the local taxation account. It was a small matter, giving a little relief where needed, and would probably have passed easily, had it not been for the great ferment caused by the lawless attitude of the extreme High Church party and the English Church Union, who absolutely set the bishops and the courts at defiance, and were bound, they said, only by the law as interpreted by themselves. The passions aroused by these heated debates reacted upon the Tithe Bill, which was forced through by the Government majority [third reading in Commons, July 20, 182 to 117; second reading in House of Lords, July 24, 113 to 23] but nevertheless there was a good deal of ill-feeling left behind.

The other domestic legislation of the Session, such as the Board of Education Bill, Food and Drugs Bill, Small Houses Bill, Irish Agriculture and Technical Instruction Bill, Telephones Bill, &c., were easily passed; they were comparatively of secondary importance, though no doubt useful measures.

April 13.—**Budget** statement by Sir M. Hicks-Beach.

	£
The actual revenue for the past year	108,336,000
And actual expenditure for the past year . . .	108,150,000
The estimated revenue for the present year . .	110,287,000
And an estimated expenditure	112,927,000

showing a deficit of 2,640,000*l.*

This deficit was to be met by—

	£
1. The sum hitherto set aside for reduction of National Debt	2,000,000
2. New stamp duties	450,000
3. Increased wine duties	420,000
Total	2,870,000

It was this appropriation of the two millions towards paying off the National Debt that was the chief subject of invective by the Opposition, and made Sir W. Harcourt, on

April 20, characterise it as an ignominious Budget. It passed, however, May 15.

During the whole of the spring and summer France was convulsed with the **Dreyfus** trial. When the year opened the case was before the Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation, which was charged to examine the question whether there should be a new trial or not. On January 9, M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire, the President, resigned, and from that time till the close of the trial he attacked his former colleagues with vituperation because they did not entertain his views of military justice. At the end of May the court decided on revision, and ordered Dreyfus to be re-tried before a court-martial at Rennes. The prisoner was immediately released from his inhuman confinement on the Ile du Diable, and brought to France. The trial began at Rennes, on August 7, before a court of seven officers. The prisoner was defended by M. Labori and M. Demange, most able and fearless advocates. It was then seen how flimsy and worthless was the evidence against him. The German Government went out of its way solemnly to state in the 'Gazette' that it had never, directly or indirectly, had any relations with Captain Dreyfus. But neither this nor the absence of proof against the prisoner could prevail against the false idea of military honour which dominated the court-martial. On September 9, by a majority of five to two, they found Dreyfus guilty under extenuating circumstances, and sentenced him to ten years' imprisonment. All Europe heard of the sentence with indignation, and the Government wisely pardoned Dreyfus, and he was released and restored to his family. General Galliffet issued an order to the army declaring the incident closed, and the excitement subsided.

It was not till the close of the Session that **South African affairs** began seriously to occupy the attention of the nation. Then the position created by the failure of the Bloemfontein Conference, and Sir Alfred Milner's despatch, and the attitude of the Imperial Government in regard to it, were debated; but on July 28, in the debate on the Colonial

Office vote, the Government policy was not (except by Mr. Courtney) vigorously attacked, and it was significant that Lord Kimberley, while deprecating war, urged Ministers to show that they were thoroughly in earnest.

Thus, on August 9, the Session came to an end, and Parliament was prorogued.

It is true the shadow of the coming war was deepening over the country at this time; but it was firmly believed that the clouds would lift, and that, seeing the stiffness of our attitude, Mr. Kruger would give the not unreasonable claims of the Uitlanders just consideration, and would carry out the moderate reforms asked for. Soon, however, after the dissolution the strain became more severe. It was met on our side by, perhaps, somewhat too irritating a tone, but on Mr. Kruger's with a determined obstinacy, refusal to give the needed reforms, denial of the suzerainty of England, and claim of the Transvaal to be a sovereign independent State. On August 19 Mr. Kruger offered the reforms asked for by England, coupling this offer with the abolition of the suzerainty; but on September 2 he withdrew this proposal. On September 8 the English Cabinet decided to increase the Natal garrison, and to inform President Kruger that Her Majesty's Government absolutely repudiated his view of the status of the Transvaal, and were quite unable to consider any proposals coupled with the acceptance of this view. On the 22nd Her Majesty's Government expressed through Sir Alfred Milner their regret at receiving no reply to their note of September 8, and now declared that the whole question would be reconsidered. They entirely refuted the charge of breach of faith brought against Mr. Conyngham Greene, the British Agent at Pretoria.

At last, on October 9, the Transvaal Executive forwarded an ultimatum requiring an immediate acquiescence to (1) arbitration; (2) removal of troops from the Transvaal borders; (3) cessation of reinforcements. If the terms were not accepted by 8 A.M. on October 11, this would be considered war against the Transvaal.

It was, of course, impossible to reply to this impudent message, and Mr. Greene was directed at once to apply for his passport; and **the War commenced.** Next week Sir Redvers Buller left England to assume command of the 1st Army Corps in South Africa.

October 17.—Parliament was called for a **special Session.** The Queen's Speech merely said that owing to the state of affairs in South Africa it is expedient that the military forces of the country should be strengthened by calling out the reserve, and asked for a vote for the war expenditure.

It was decided that this special Session be prorogued, not adjourned, in order that there might be a Queen's Speech on the reopening at the beginning of next year, and an opportunity of criticising the policy of Government. **The War Budget** was introduced by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, October 23, raising 10,000,000*l.* by (1) taking the net estimated surplus, 3,000,000*l.*, and (2) a temporary addition to the floating debt, borrowing by Treasury bills 7,000,000*l.*

There was a vote for 35,000 additional troops, and the reserves and militia were called out.

There was no opposition, except by a few of the Irish, two of whom were suspended, and Mr. M. Davitt announced his intention of resigning his seat.

October 27.—After a Session of nine days the Houses were formally prorogued to January 15, 1900.

The **Orange Free State**, with whom we had no quarrel, threw in their lot with the Transvaal, and our territory in Natal was at once invaded by the enemy.

October 20.—Battle of Glencoe, in which General Sir William Symons was killed. General Yule retiring from Glencoe, met, October 21, Sir George White from Ladysmith, and the battle of Elandslaagte was fought. British loss, 257 killed and wounded. October 29-30.—General White unsuccessfully attempted to bring about a general engagement with the Boers who had concentrated round Ladysmith; part of the British force was cut off and forced to surrender, and the main body fell back on Ladysmith, after receiving

reinforcements from the fleet at Durban; and so the long siege of Ladysmith began.

October 23.—On the west of the Orange Free State Lord Methuen defeated the Boers at Belmont, and the next day at Graspan, and on the 28th had a long fight with the enemy at the Modder River. In the last weeks of the year many sad disasters befell the different parts of the British forces. Lord Methuen failed in an attack upon the Boer forces under Cronje at Magersfontein, where on the night of December 12 the Highland Brigade, under their brave commander, General Wauchope, were almost annihilated, and the total loss was about 1,000. Buller found the Boer position at Colenso, on the Tugela, impregnable, and was beaten back with a loss of 1,100 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; and it seemed almost impossible to relieve the beleaguered garrisons of Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking. Nothing, however, in the words of the 'Times,' could be better than the spirit in which all this bad news was met not only in Great Britain, but throughout the whole Empire. With noble patriotism Lord Roberts, undismayed by his personal bereavement (his brave and only son having fallen at the Tugela) or by his advanced age, accepted the chief command in South Africa, with Lord Kitchener as his Chief of the Staff. Reinforcements were rapidly despatched, together with militia, yeomanry and volunteers; while the Colonies sent splendid contingents to assist the Mother Country in the hour of her need. The whole Empire was of one mind that the war must be carried through at whatever cost. Great and generous efforts were also made to provide for the widows, orphans, and families of those on service.

The Christmas of 1899 in England was, to say the least, dull and mournful.

1900.—January 30.—Parliament opened.

The Queen's Speech referred, first, to the enthusiasm with which the nation had responded to the call when our colonies were invaded by the South African Republic and the Orange

Free State, adding, 'I shall not look to them in vain when I exhort them to sustain their exertions until they have brought this struggle for the maintenance of the Empire and the assertion of its supremacy in South Africa to a victorious conclusion.' Secondly, to the federation of the five Australian colonies. Thirdly, to the good qualities of the colonial forces now in the field, and the offers of further assistance from other colonies and the native princes of India. Fourthly, to the ravages of famine and plague in India. Finally, to the large increase in military expenditure. Domestic legislation was, of course, in time of war compelled to take a 'back seat,' and the measures promised were only of minor importance.

The debate on the Address turned naturally on the war and our state of unpreparedness. Lord Salisbury denied that the Government could possibly have known of the Boer preparations and armaments, complained of the scantiness of the Secret Service money, and insisted that the interference of the Treasury in every department of the State was not for the public benefit. He added: 'About the munitions of war that the Republics were introducing, I ask, how on earth were we to know it? I believe that the guns were introduced in boilers and locomotives, and the munitions of war were introduced in piano cases and tubs. We cannot see through a stone wall.' 'The man in the street,' said Mr. Balfour, 'knew as much as the man in the Cabinet.'

Lord E. Fitzmaurice moved the amendment deploring the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Ministers alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in the preparations for the war.

February 6.—The amendment was lost by 352 to 139.

A strong light was thrown upon the subject by the publication of a memorandum by Major-General Sir J. C. Ardagh, Head of the Intelligence Department, dated June 1899. This gave a clear account of the country, of the military forces, armaments and forts in both Republics, describing the Boer tactics and field organisation. It gives the number of

rifles known to be in the possession of the Boers, and adds: 'Of the enormous quantity of rifles now in the possession of the South African Republic, only some 13,500 Martini-Henry rifles were in the country before the Jameson Raid. The whole of the remainder have since then been purchased in England, France, Germany and Belgium. The enormous stock of rifles would suffice to arm more than double the number of the whole forces of the Transvaal.' The report further shows how since the Jameson Raid the artillery was more than quadrupled. The report takes it for granted that the two Republics would act together.

February 9.—Address agreed to—229 to 39.

February 15.—The policy of the Government in regard to national defence was expounded by Lord Lansdowne, and outside official circles was almost universally condemned as inadequate and disappointing. But, general as was the dissatisfaction, it was found impossible to enlarge or amend the War Office plans while the Government, secure of their overwhelming majority, held on their way. The enrolment of the Irish Guards was a most popular element in the addition to the regular army.

Sir Edward Clarke resigned his seat for Plymouth in consequence of differences with his own (the Conservative) party on the subject of the war.

The chief points of the **Boer War** during the year were as follows:—

January 10.—Lord Roberts arrived at Cape Town.

January 23 and 24.—Battle of Spion Kop; and again in the beginning of February General Buller made another unsuccessful attempt to establish himself on the north of the Tugela.

Then came Lord Roberts's rapid advance across the Modder, carrying the war at last into the enemy's country. This was followed by the relief of Kimberley (February 15), the surrender of Cronje (February 27), the relief of Ladysmith (February 28); and on March 14 Lord Roberts entered

Bloemfontein. There he proclaimed the **annexation of the Orange River Colony**, and then pushed on to the Transvaal. He was at Johannesburg May 29, and at Pretoria June 4. In the meantime Mafeking, which had been so long and bravely held by Baden-Powell, was relieved on May 18, a glad event, which was celebrated with wild rejoicings throughout the Empire. Kruger retired for some time to the Lydenburg, and then went off to Lourenço Marques; thence embarking in a Netherlands ship, he landed at Marseilles in November and went on to Paris, in both of which places he was received with much popular demonstration. He then went to Cologne, but not to Berlin, as the German Emperor refused to receive him. Lord Roberts before leaving Pretoria had proclaimed the **annexation of the Transvaal** and the virtual termination of the war, though hostilities under roving bodies of Boers led by the clever and apparently ubiquitous De Wet still continued.

There was great rejoicing in London, October 29, on the return of the C.I.V.'s.

Lord Roberts having been appointed Commander-in-Chief, in succession to Lord Wolseley, left Cape Colony in December, handing over the command of the army to Lord Kitchener.

March 5.—Annual **Budget** statement by Sir M. Hicks-Beach. For the past year:

	£
Total revenue	116,040,000
Total expenditure	133,810,000
Deficit	17,770,000

The estimated revenue and expenditure for the year 1900–1901 on the old basis of taxation are:

	£
Total estimated revenue	116,900,000
Total estimated expenditure	154,082,000
Estimated deficit	37,182,000

This is to be met:

	£
4*d.* addititional income tax	6,500,000
2*d.* additional on tea	1,800,000
1*s.* a barrel on beer	1,752,000
6*d.* a gallon on spirits	1,015,000
4*d.* a pound tobacco and 6*d.* cigars	1,100,000
Produce-contracts 1*s.*	150,000
Total	12,317,000

New borrowing power:

	£
Treasury Bills to be renewed	8,000,000
New Treasury Bills	5,000,000
New loans in 10-year bonds	30,000,000
Total	43,000,000

This left a balance of a little over five millions for war contingencies.

The estimate for the war, assuming that it should be over in September, was put by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as 66,317,000*l.*, including the item for contingencies. There was no noteworthy objection or opposition to the Budget, and it was finally passed on April 6.

The new **War Loan Bill**, which was an integral part of the Budget, was passed easily through both Houses, and the amount offered to the public was applied for eleven times over, a very large number of applications being for small sums between 100*l.* and 1,000*l.*

Owing, however, to the prolonged duration and the increased cost of the war in South Africa, and to the necessity of operations in China and Ashanti, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to bring in a Supplementary War Loan Bill giving him power to borrow another thirteen millions. The Bill passed unchallenged on August 6 as a supplement to the Budget—and the total cost of the war in South Africa as then calculated was seventy-five millions

The extraordinary action of the War Office in publishing what were called the **Spion Kop despatches**, wherein Lord

Roberts commented on the conduct of Sir Redvers Buller, Sir Charles Warren, and Colonel Thorneycroft, was severely commented upon in both Houses, and was only feebly defended; and public opinion, expressed both by Conservative members and newspapers, as well as by the Opposition Press, with rare unanimity endorsed the criticism.

May 14.—The legislative measures of the Government were not of great moment, with the single exception of the **Australian Commonwealth Bill**, which embodied the new constitution as drafted and accepted by the Australian colonies. The scheme was cordially welcomed in this country, there being only one comparatively minor question—relating to the appeals to the Privy Council—which was finally adjusted by compromise June 25. This was a great achievement and one which Mr. Chamberlain might justly feel proud of having introduced and carried through.

Lord Hopetoun was appointed the first Governor-General under the new law.

August 2.—Death of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, the Queen's second son. Votes of condolence were passed, and excellent speeches made by the Leaders in both Houses.

During the Session, owing to the delicacy of the question, and the many international interests involved, there was little said about **China**, though next to the South African War it was the subject most in men's minds during the summer. On August 2, when the Foreign Office vote was taken, Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Brodrick spoke, both of them deprecating all idea of any partition of China.

Nothing during this year of trial contributed more to the good of the country, and strengthened more the resolute dignity of our bearing as a nation, than the personal action of **the Queen**. Though now in her eighty-second year, she has done more than could be expected of far younger persons. She has inspected numerous bodies of troops going to the war, has seen and sympathised with many of the families left behind, has been down to the hospitals to cheer

the sick and wounded, has made a fatiguing visit through London to animate her subjects; above all, has chosen this occasion to take up a fortnight's residence in Dublin, where her kindly actions have done more to foster the loyalty and good feeling of the Irish nation than all the legislative acts of past years have been able to do, and where such little concessions as the ordering of the wearing of the shamrock on St. Patrick's Day, and the enrolment of the Irish Guards, have won many hearts; while her messages of solicitude and appreciation of gallant deeds, sent out from time to time, have done much to cheer her soldiers throughout the long campaign.

This all accentuates the sympathy of all classes for the Royal Family in their bereavement by the death of Prince Christian Victor while serving in South Africa.

Nothing, since the letters of the late Sir W. Russell from the Crimea in 1854, has given a greater shock to public opinion than the publication in the 'Times,' June 27, of an article by Mr. Burdett-Coutts, M.P. for Westminster, on 'Our Wars and Our Wounded.' Unfortunately, this eminently national question was treated somewhat as a party attack: but it was clear that an investigation was desirable, and a small commission of three members, subsequently increased to five, was appointed to inquire and report, and their decision is still awaited.[1]

August 8.—Parliament was prorogued, but no hint was given by the Ministry of when the dissolution was to take place. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that evening that 'he did not know, and he ventured to say on the highest authority nobody else knew. The man of all others with whom it rested to advise Her Majesty on the question was the Prime Minister, and only the other day he stated to an audience in London that he did not know when the election would take place.' But the same day the 'Times' said: 'So comes to a close a Session which was marked from the beginning to the end with a moribund

[1] The report was published in January, 1901.

and barren character. The lack of public interest in Parliamentary proceedings ; the second-rate character of the measures presented and carried ; the practical agreement, not confined to the majority only, to put certain great controversial questions out of the range of legislation ; the reluctance to touch subjects like the licensing laws, old-age pensions, and Church discipline, all point in the same direction. This Parliament has fulfilled its mission, and exhausted its mandate. On both sides of the House there is a widespread conviction—in fact, no keen observer of politics doubts—that the dissolution will follow to-day's prorogation in two or three months.'

In May Sir Richard Webster was appointed Master of the Rolls, and was raised to the Peerage as Lord Alverstone ; and in August, on the death of Lord Russell of Killowen, he became Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir A. L. Smith being made Master of the Rolls. Sir R. Finlay was appointed Attorney-General and Mr. Carson Solicitor-General.

Although the war in South Africa has been the paramount object of interest during the year, yet the affairs of **China** would on any other occasion have occupied the first place in the attention of the country. Never before in modern history has a powerful nation so openly defied the first principles of international intercourse as to levy war upon the Foreign Ministers accredited to it, and to attempt their destruction by besieging them in their embassies with the most savage barbarity. The immediate result is that the Chinese capital has been taken by the joint forces of the Europeans, Americans, and Japanese, and is now being held by them until some reparation has been obtained for the wholesale murders and barbarities which have devastated not only Peking, but many parts of the country. In the meantime the Empress-Dowager, who is believed to have been the prime instigator of these crimes, has with the puppet Emperor and her Ministers left the capital, and it is impossible to foresee what will be the outcome of the crisis. The self-denying ordinance which was on October 16 jointly signed

by Great Britain and Germany has received the adhesion of other Powers, and a common scheme of demands to be complied with by China has since been agreed upon, but there are unfortunately many signs that the Concert of the Powers lacks any real cohesion. They have, however, agreed to the appointment of the German Field-Marshal Count von Waldersee as Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces ; but Russia has poured troops into Manchuria, and seems determined to annex a large part of that province.

In **Western Africa** there have also been serious troubles, the Governor, Sir Frederick Hodgson, being besieged in Kumasi, whence he and his wife and a small portion of the garrison after extreme suffering forced their way through to Accra in July ; the remaining garrison being relieved with great difficulty by Colonel (now Sir James) Willcocks at the head of a small relief expedition.

September 17.—Proclamation, signed by the Queen, **dissolving Parliament**, September 25.

The election began September 28, and was completed October 24. The net result was to return a House very much the same as before the dissolution.

	After the Election of 1895.		At time of Dissolution.		After the Election of 1900.	
Liberal Unionists	71	411	67	399	68	402
Conservatives	340		332		334	
Liberals	177	259	189	271	186	268
Nationalists	82		82		82	
Unionist Majority	152		128		134	

A net gain of 6. The Unionists gained 38 seats, the Liberals gained 35.

It was calculated, but owing to the large number of uncontested seats it is impossible to be accurate, that there were 2,361,000 Conservative votes, and 2,056,000 Liberal, including Nationalist. There is no doubt that the chief cause of the great Ministerial majority is due to the inexhaustible energy of Mr. Chamberlain, and that the Unionists proclaimed that the credit of the war was theirs, and

endeavoured to persuade the electors that every seat lost to the Government was a seat won for the Boers, and that every vote recorded for the Liberals was a pro-Boer vote; and they were absolutely silent upon the only really now important question—viz. the future government of South Africa. On the other hand the English Liberals, with very few exceptions, did not question the policy or conduct of the war, but found fault with the government administration, especially of the War Office, a point which all the Unionist Press, and most of the Unionist candidates, admitted required reform. As there was therefore no definite point in issue between the two parties, and as the Ministerial candidates pledged themselves, almost without exception, to a thorough overhauling and reformation of the War Office,[1] the only real question before the electors was, 'Shall we entrust the settlement of South Africa to the hands of those who have now virtually brought the war to a close, or to the hands of their opponents, who are evidently without a leader, and apparently without a policy?'

Under these circumstances it was easy to foresee that the election, coming just when the war may be said to have been successfully brought to an end, with the glamour of the instant welcome of the returning troops, would again secure for the Government so large a majority as to ensure their undisputed continuance in office for the next five years at least, and to justify the boast that they are, and have been since 1895, the most powerful Government that this century has seen.

Immediately after election, Lord Salisbury, being now secure of office, reconstructed his Cabinet, the principal changes being that he himself gave up the Foreign Office, becoming instead Lord Privy Seal.

Lord Lansdowne goes to the Foreign Office, Mr. Ritchie to the Home Office; Mr. Brodrick becomes Secretary for War, Lord Selborne First Lord of the Admiralty, with Mr. Arnold Forster as Secretary; Mr. George Wyndham becomes Chief

[1] *Vide* Appendix A.

Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Walter Long President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Austen Chamberlain Financial Secretary to the Treasury; Lords Cranborne, Onslow, Hardwicke, and Raglan become Under-Secretaries in the Foreign, Colonial, India, and War Offices; Mr. Grant Lawson Secretary to the Local Government Board, and Lord Stanley Financial Secretary to the War Office.

Lord Cross, Sir M. W. Ridley, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Chaplin retire from the Ministry.

December 3.—The new Parliament met. Mr. Gully was unanimously re-elected **Speaker**.

December 6.—**The Queen's Speech** in one sentence stated that the special Session was held only for the sanction to the enactments required for the further provision for the expenses incurred by the armies in South Africa and China.

No other business was transacted at this short Session except the raising of the sixteen millions now required for carrying on the wars; thus raising the expense of the Boer war up to the present time to 85,323,000*l*. This is supposed to meet the war expenses to the end of March. The Chancellor of the Exchequer clearly stated that, though it might be impossible for a year or two, they intended to make the Transvaal contribute materially towards the cost of the war.

Parliament was prorogued December 15. On leaving South Africa to take up his duties at home as Commander-in-Chief Lord Roberts said at Cape Town: 'The war has now virtually come to an end, and my work is finished.' This was, indeed, a true expression of the hope, if not the settled belief, of the whole nation; but when at the beginning of the New Year he landed in England, he was forced to admit that he had been too sanguine, and that there was still hard and prolonged work remaining to be done by his successor, Lord Kitchener.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

(p. 326)

As one of the reforms most generally acknowledged to be required by both Conservatives and Liberals during the election of 1900, and promised also by the Government as one of their first actions, is the remodelling of the War Office, it is well to trace the history of the present system. This is well summarised by a correspondent in the 'Globe.' He says:—

'As at present constituted the War Office has been compounded from many sources. At the outbreak of the Crimean War the functions connected with the administration of the military forces of the Empire were widely distributed. The Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, sitting at the Colonial Office, had a general but vague control, practically limited, however, to times of war, and entailing no responsibility for the details of army management. The War Secretary, with an office at the Horse Guards, superintended all the financial operations of the army proper, as regards its *personnel*, but had no control over the artillery or engineers, or over the *matériel* of the force. The power of the office was, however, great, as the Parliamentary representative of the army and Commander-in-Chief. This latter officer had, under the Sovereign, absolute control over the army, and administered its patronage, but was unable to adopt measures involving financial results without the concurrence of the Secretary at War. At the same time, no defined relationship existed between the respective responsibilities of the Secretary of War and Commander-in-Chief.

'In 1854 it was deemed advisable to separate the business of the Colonies from that of War, and the Secretary for War assumed

control over all the other administrative officers. In February 1855 the Secretary of State was appointed Secretary of War also, the duties of the two offices being amalgamated. The military control remained, as previously, in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, for whose exercise of it, however, the Secretary of State was responsible to Parliament. The year 1870 witnessed a further unification of responsibility in the final welding into one War Office of the civil administrative functions hitherto exercised at the Horse Guards. Under the War Office Act (1870) and three subsequent similar Orders in Council, Parliament and the Crown concurred in vesting the direct and immediate control of every branch whatsoever of army administration in the Secretary of State. For the exercise of this power of control the Secretary of State has the aid of his two Under-Secretaries of State. The actual army administration was divided between three great officers (any or all of whom might be in Parliament), viz.:—(1) The Officer Commanding-in-Chief, in charge of the combatant *personnel* of all regular and irregular forces; (2) the Surveyor-General of Ordnance, under whom were all civil administrative duties, except the Pay Department, with the purchase, construction, and charge of material; and (3) the Financial Secretary, who was responsible to the Secretary of State for the estimates submitted to Parliament, with the appropriation, accounting, and auditing of all funds voted thereon, and who also controlled the Army Pay Department.

'In 1887 and 1888 responsibility for military efficiency was concentrated on the Commander-in-Chief, and the Civil Department. presided over by the Financial Secretary, was responsible to the Secretary of State that due economy was exercised. In 1895 the concentration of military responsibility on the Commander-in-Chief was abolished, and the discipline, education, and training of troops, recruiting, &c., were transferred to the Adjutant-General. The Quartermaster-General had charge of food, quarters, transport, &c.; the Inspector-General of Fortifications had charge of barracks, buildings, and fortifications; and the Inspector-General of Ordnance warlike stores and equipment, patterns, inventions, &c.'

APPENDIX B

MAJUBA CONVENTION (p. 228)

So much attention has been directed during the present Boer War to the Convention of 1881, carried out by Mr. Gladstone's Government, that it is important to see what were the arguments at the time both for and against that policy. The facts have been briefly stated in the text. The terms of the Convention were announced to the House by the Prime Minister on April 22. There was a full debate on the subject in the House of Lords. But the fullest exposition of the situation was given in the House of Commons when, on July 25, 1881, Sir M. Hicks-Beach moved, and Baron de Worms seconded the resolution, 'That the course pursued by the Government with respect to the rising in the Transvaal has resulted in the loss of valuable lives without vindicating the authority of the Crown, is fraught with danger to the future tranquillity and safety of Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa, and fails to provide for the fulfilment of the obligations contracted by this country towards the European settlers and native population of the Transvaal.' The mover, in alluding to the past history of the country, admitted that the late Government were responsible for the annexation of the Transvaal, not by force, but with the consent of the people, with the express consent of the inhabitants of the towns and the native population, and with the tacit assent of the Boer farmers. Unquestionably, however, Sir M. Hicks-Beach adds, after the annexation a spirit of disaffection and dislike to our rule manifested itself in the Transvaal, and embassies were sent out to demonstrate to the Boers that it was the desire of the Government to give them as extreme an amount of local self-government as might be compatible with our necessary control over the native question and foreign relations. He further showed that when Mr. Gladstone's Government came into office they at first

acquiesced in their predecessors' policy, refusing to advise Her Majesty to relinquish her sovereignty over the Transvaal, and refusing even to send a commission to inquire into the question. Then had come the Boer rising, the defeats of the English troops at Laing's Nek and Majuba; after which the policy of the Government had been reversed, and we had conceded to the victorious Boers with arms in their hands the terms which we had refused to their peaceful prayers.

In a powerful speech seconding the motion Baron de Worms said: 'Another instance cannot be found in which the English Government deliberately handed over the possession of a country to a number of rebels without the consent of Parliament, and after the Queen's troops had been defeated by rebels who were in possession of portions of the territory of Her Majesty. The only conclusion that can be arrived at is that the recall of General Roberts and the humiliating peace negotiations were concessions to party and to the overweening desire to maintain the large and obedient majority of the Government. This is a policy of humiliation and degradation which will not only prejudicially affect our position in the Colonies, but throughout the world.'

Mr. Rathbone moved the amendment to this resolution approving of the steps taken by the Government. He showed conclusively that the change in policy, and the decision to restore the Transvaal to the Boers, were arrived at previous to the defeats of our forces. Mr. Fowler seconded the amendment. But the policy of the Government was most ably vindicated by Mr. Chamberlain, the President of the Board of Trade. He said: 'The maintenance of the annexation of the Transvaal was impossible for any Government caring for the honour as well as the interests of this country. It was contrary to their treaty engagements, and to the best traditions of a free country. By the Sand River Convention they bound themselves to the Boers to guarantee to them their independence, and not to make any encroachment on the lands west of the Vaal. It was impossible for any self-respecting Government to ignore those undertakings, unless with the consent of the Boers themselves. And this was the position taken up by the late Government. When placing the matter before the House of Lords, Lord Carnarvon said that the large majority of the population was in favour of annexation; that if it were not so he had no desire to take over an unwilling population. It was upon the assumption that the majority of the Boers were in favour of

annexation that Parliament consented to it in 1877. If they found out subsequently that the wishes and sentiments of the Boers were entirely misunderstood—that they had gained the Transvaal on false pretences—they were bound in honour to withdraw from the position which they had unwittingly and wrongly taken up. He could not understand how those who talked so glibly of the honour of their country could fail to see that the greatest shame and humiliation would be in maintaining a high-handed breach of faith and destroying the independence of a people which they had solemnly engaged to respect. The moment the Government became aware of this feeling they adopted the conclusion to which he had referred.' He then showed how it was that they had not earlier come to that conclusion: that at first they believed the country was settling down contentedly, because of the favourable opinions of the officials of the Transvaal; but they now knew those opinions were based on a misapprehension of the facts, and that there was no doubt that there never was a time since annexation when the vast majority of the Boer population had not been entirely opposed to it. Mr. Chamberlain then combated the idea that it was the three defeats which caused a change of policy; the terms which we were willing to concede to the Boers had been made known before the defeats, and it seemed doubtful whether the Boers, flushed with success, would accept them. However, they did do so, and the suzerainty and the authority of the Crown were admitted. 'Surely,' he added, 'it was not a condition of our accepting the terms, in themselves satisfactory, that we should have previously won a victory over the Boers and destroyed their power. They had as a nation too often proved their courage and tenacity of purpose for anyone not blinded by the prejudice of party to think that their reputation must now be made good in such a fashion as that. They had the power in their hands, but they had not the will to use it. The strength of the giant was there, but it would have been tyrannous to employ it. If they had not so employed it, it was because they were not satisfied with the justice of their cause, because they did not think that there was any end to be served commensurate with the sacrifices they would impose upon themselves and others, and because they had learned to recognise in their opponents qualities which were worthy of a free people; and, lastly, because they considered that all reasonable demands were satisfied, and that peace gave to this country everything that victory would have enabled them to secure.' He submitted, there-

fore, for the consideration of the House two propositions. The first was, that as soon as the Government became aware of the true feeling of the Boers, as soon as it became manifest that to conciliate them with any offer short of absolute independence was impossible, then the restoration of their independence was absolutely called for by regard to our treaty engagements and the honour of our country. Under the circumstances which he had described, to have continued to maintain the annexation would have been an act which he could only describe as 'force, fraud, and folly.'

He submitted, in the second place, that the retrocession having once been decided upon, the Government were bound to take the first opportunity of effecting a peaceable settlement and preventing further bloodshed. It was said that by these proceedings they had tarnished the honour of England. He did not share this feeling. It seemed to him that if a brave man unwittingly committed an injustice he did not lose, but gained in public estimation by taking the first opportunity of repairing the wrong which he had done. He could see no distinction between public and private morality. He could not see how a great nation should be shamed by doing that which they should all consider admirable and right in a private individual. For his part he was not afraid or ashamed to appeal to the House of Commons—to appeal, if necessary, to the English people— to justify the course which the Government had taken, and, above all, to approve their action in preferring justice to revenge, and in restoring to a brave people the independence of which they ought never to have been deprived.

The division was: Ayes, 205; Noes, 314; majority for Government, 109.

The main question was then carried without opposition, viz.: 'That this House, believing that the continuance of the war with the Transvaal Boers would not have advanced the honour or the interests of this country, approves the steps taken by H. M.'s Government to bring about a peaceful settlement, and feels confident that every care will be taken to guard the interests of the natives, to provide for the full liberty and equal treatment of the entire white population, and to promote harmony and goodwill among the various races in South Africa.'

APPENDIX C

OUR LOSSES IN THE BOER WAR FROM OCTOBER, 1899, TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1900

THE strength of our forces of all ranks amounted to 260,000. According to the last War Office return our losses have been :—

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Killed in action . . .	324	3,216	3,540
Died of wounds . . .	97	1,035	1,132
Died of disease . . .	174	7,011	7,185
Died in captivity . . .	4	92	96
Total . . .	599	11,354	11,953

besides about 15,500 wounded and prisoners. So that the total wastage of the army up to date is nearly 28,000, or one-ninth of the whole forces engaged.

In the Crimea, out of 72,000 we lost about 24,000, or one-third of the forces. The French lost about 63,000, or one-half their forces.

In 1878 the Russians, out of 460,000 men who crossed the Danube, brought only 100,000 men to Constantinople, and of that number only 43,000 were fit for duty; the waste being nine-tenths of the force. Before Plevna alone the Russians lost 700 officers and 31,000 men—more than our total losses in the Boer War.

In 1812, in the Moscow campaign, Napoleon crossed the Niemen with 442,000 men, of whom 300,000 left their bones in Russia, *i.e.* more than two-thirds of the force.

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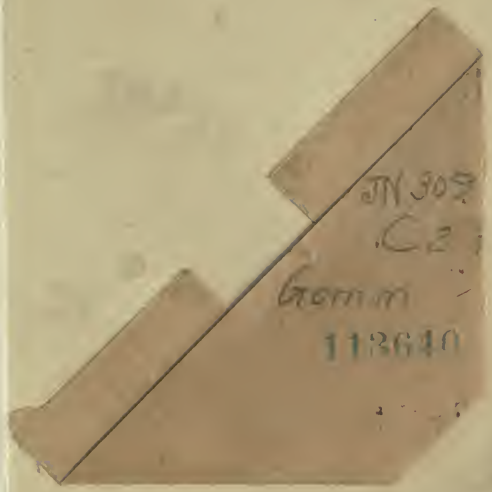
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